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VOL. LX

SAMUEL PEPYS'S NAVAL MINUTES

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SAMUEL PEPYS'S NAVAL MINUTES

EDITED BY

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PRINTED FOR THE NAVY RECORDS SOCIETY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	ix—xx
NAVAL MINUTES	1—449
INDEX	451—513

INTRODUCTION

THE volume entitled *Naval Minutes* is the only one of the "Sea-Manuscripts" in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, which is entirely personal to Pepys.[1] It contains notes made by him, mainly during his two periods of retirement, for his projected History of the Navy, and shews the wide range of his researches, and the progress which he had made in collecting his materials.

The first mention of the scheme occurs in the *Diary*, under date June 13, 1664, when he talked with William Coventry

'of a History of the Navy of England, how fit it were to be writ; and he did say that it hath been in his mind to propose to me the writing of the history of the late Dutch War, which I am glad to hear, it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius; and, if well done, may recommend me much. So he says he will get me an order for making of searches to all records, etc., in order thereto, and I shall take great delight in doing of it.'

The History of the Dutch War was undertaken by Evelyn at Arlington's suggestion (Evelyn's *Diary*, February 13, 1669) reinforced by an appeal from the King (June 18, 1670), but the manuscript was unaccountably lost, and only the Preface

[1] Although the spelling of the MS. has been modernised, it has been thought best to retain Pepys's spelling of names.

survived, to be published in 1674 under the title, *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress*. It appears, however, from the *Diary* for January 16, 1668, that Pepys had not abandoned the idea of proceeding with the more ambitious work. He seems to have taken the matter up seriously after his liberation from the Tower in 1679. In January, 1680, Evelyn was impressing upon him the importance of his writing a history of navigation, referring him to Selden's manuscripts and giving him a list of books which he ought to consult.[1] He answers questions propounded to him by Pepys, and from time to time references occur in their correspondence to the progress of the work.[2]

The minutes themselves are fairly copied into the volume by clerks, with occasional additions and corrections in Pepys's own hand; but their arrangement is somewhat chaotic. The earliest dated entry is for July 29, 1680 (p. 11), and, with a few exceptions, they run chronologically until May 23, 1683 (p. 210). A new copyist, writing in a small, cramped hand, then interpolates five pages (pp. 214–19) relating to 1692 in a space in the volume what must have been originally left blank for some other purpose. After this, chronological order is resumed, still with a few exceptions, until the end of 1693 (p. 339), although the period of Pepys's second secretaryship of the Admiralty (1684–9), when official business was absorbing all his attention, is only represented by less than twenty pages (*c.* 236–53). After the end of Decem-

[1] See H. B. Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, pp. 184–8. The list of questions addressed by Pepys to Sir William Dugdale there printed from *Notes and Queries*, viii. 341, and preserved at the Bodleian Library in Rawlinson MSS. A. 183, f. 90, is identical with *Questions for the Heralds* on p. 45 below.

[2] See *Private Correspondence* (ed. J. R. Tanner), vol. i. p. ix.

ber, 1693, the entries go back once more to 1679 or 1680 (p. 354), pp. 365–8 being almost a repetition of pp. 219–22, and pp. 368–83 overlapping pp. 223–35 to a certain extent. Chronological order is then resumed with the beginning of 1694 (p. 384), and the last dated minute is for February 28, 1696 (p. 426). This is some four years before Pepys's health began to fail, and seven years before his death ; but we know from his correspondence that as late as January 2, 1700, he was enquiring after Monson's *Naval Tracts*.[1]

The purpose of the *Naval Minutes*, and the conditions under which they were written, prevented the author from applying to them the faculty for methodical arrangement which was one of his special characteristics. His notes were made just as they occurred to him, and they lie in the volume in a confused heap, without any attempt being made to classify them according to subject. Many of the entries are mere memoranda of points to be investigated in the future, and thus problems are stated without being solved, and topics are referred to but are not followed up.

Nevertheless, the contents of the volume constitute an inexhaustible mine of miscellaneous information about sea affairs, and this must be the editor's justification for providing what at first sight appears to be an unnecessarily elaborate index. The lines of research which Pepys laid down for himself range from the earliest history of navigation down to the naval problems of his own day, and include a vast variety of subjects. In a couple of colossal sentences (pp. 402–3) he endeavours to take 'a right measure of the

[1] Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, ii. 259.

knowledge of the ancients in the matter of navigation,' and arrives at the conclusion that the extent of it had been greatly exaggerated. His enquiries into the history of the office of Lord High Admiral begin with ' Marthusius, mentioned by Spelman and others for King Edgar's Admiral' (p. 106), and he has something to say about the Count of the Saxon Shore (p. 285). He refers to a vast number of ancient and medieval authorities, including Nonnius, Festus, Agellius, and Lilius Gregorius Giraldus (p. 290). He shews himself impatient of the English claim to the Dominion of the Sea, proposing to collect ' instances of inconveniences which states have suffered by taking to themselves great titles and pretensions beyond what they could maintain' (p. 58); and in several passages he criticises acutely ' the several strainings of arguments made use of by Mr. Selden for support of his *Mare Clausum* ' (p. 275).

In connexion with shipbuilding, the *Naval Minutes* contain historical information and critical comment of extraordinary interest. In ' Sir Anthony Deane's Observations touching the improvement of the English Navy from foreigners' (pp. 241–45), and elsewhere (see index), the story is told of the adoption of the frigate, the galley, the galley-frigate, and the yacht; and there are several references to Sir William Petty's experiments with double-bottom vessels. Pepys observes that shipbuilding is no mystery (p. 158); he quotes with approval a statement by Sir William Petty that two of the best English shipbuilders were incapable of laying down a draught, ' their knowledge lying in their hands so confusedly, so as they were not able themselves to render it intelligible to anybody else ' (p. 200); and he follows Sir Anthony Deane in maintaining ' that no one

shape of a ship can be in general said to be the best, for every distinct use requires a different shape' (p. 9). He also notes that in earlier times ships of war so called 'served only as sea-carriages for the men that went thither to fight in them; whereas now ships are themselves become, by the force of their bodies and guns, instruments both of offence and defence' (p. 79). The increase in the burthen of ships is assigned to 'within one century or less, namely, upon the invention of great guns, and the employment of them in sea service' (p. 425). England suffers in her ship-building from the neglect of her timber, which is 'suffered to stand about an hundred years too long. . . . To which let me add, the principal use of the forests being to serve the kings in their pleasures and their ministers to their profits' (p. 193).

The 'constant and evident hazards of a seaman's life' (p. 255) are compared in parallel columns with those of the land-soldier (pp. 128–31), to the former's disadvantage; and as 'the seaman's trade' requires 'real drudgery and constant toil,' the English, spoiled by the 'natural plenty' of their country, cannot 'endure it so well as other nations and particularly the Dutch do' (pp. 82–3). English seamen are unruly and illiterate, and 'love their bellies above anything else' (p. 250), but their courage 'arises much from the nature and plenty' of their diet (p. 25). Herrings 'won't go down at this day with our seamen, however I find that they have in former ages done' (p. 312). 'No kind or degree of the land-education in use among us in England . . . qualifies a man at all for a sea-employment (as such), or gives him any considerable help towards it,' for 'the very language itself' is 'utterly unintelligible to a

land-man' (p. 260). Why cannot children be taught the use of the compass in schools, 'as slinging was promoted by the mothers among the children of the Baleares'? (p. 261). A voyage or two should 'carry with it the public credit of being one of the first qualifications in a nobleman or gentleman for public trust, in Parliament or elsewhere' (p. 406).

As we should naturally expect, the *Naval Minutes* contains an abundance of criticism of Pepys's predecessors in office, and especially of the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84, the misdoings of which are exposed in his printed *Memoires of the Royal Navy*. They were 'wholly ignorant' of 'the business of the sea' (p. 71), and 'would not be obliged by Mr. Pepys's rules' (p. 365).

> 'An ignorant pretender to an office has but (by his interest) to get himself put into one, how unfit soever he knows himself, and indisposed for the labour necessary to render him otherwise. For (from all my observation, and more particularly in the Navy) no degree of inexperience or unusefulness, by age or otherways (provided he can but keep himself from making enemies by being troublesome in his office) ever sufficed to turn a man out on't without some provision made for rendering such his removal easy to him by pension or other equivalent, if not advantage' (p. 256).

Even Pepys's own creation, the Special Commission of 1686, did not escape, its members, with the exception of Deane and Hewer, being charged —one with laziness, another with love of pleasure, a third with want of method, and most with lack of zeal (p. 278).

With these deficiencies Pepys contrasts the knowledge and capacity of Charles II and James, Duke of York. They both 'understood the sea' (p. 84) and were 'mathematical Admirals' (p. 418).

They were easy of access to the builders, and encouraged 'all men of that trade, beginners as well as old practisers, and even assistants and foremen as well as master-builders . . . to bring their draughts to them' for discussion (p. 394). They took 'delight to visit the merchant-yards as well as their own,' and to 'honour and assist with their presence no less the merchant builder at his launchings of a new ship of any tolerable consideration, and enquiring after the proofs of them at their return from sea, than [their] own master-builders.' (*ib.*). But William III is 'a Prince whose genius seems bent to land-action only.'

In the course of his investigations Pepys is led to father several interesting suggestions: an Order of Sea-Knighthood, borrowed from Sir Robert Slyngesbie, who had been Comptroller of the Navy at the Restoration (pp. 53, 90, 118); Sir William Petty's idea of an international law of trade, so that 'every man of every nation should find himself at home in any suit, and know how to manage himself therein, as if he were in his own country; just as the Pope, by having his Church service performed in Latin, pretends that every man of his Church knows in every country as well as in his own when he enters into a church what to do and what is in doing' (p. 156); and a notion discussed with Dr. Plot, that there might be a sort of clearing-house of knowledge set up among the 'Literati and Virtuosi of a nation,' 'by directing him that wants, whither to go for, and him that has, where to communicate what possibly in his hand would remain eternally useless' (p. 282). Pepys's own suggestions are more prosaic, and more closely concerned with his immediate interest of the sea. He would like an 'express fund' to be 'appropriated by Act of Parliament to the

service of the Navy and made indivertible therefrom' (p. 195); and a permanent council set up for superintending the affairs of the Navy in the intervals of Parliament (p. 276). He also comments on the want of any proper register of instructions for Ministers sent abroad, 'every Minister of State being almost to begin again to invent instructions for every Minister that is sent abroad to this or that Prince or State, as if it were the first time we had ever sent any thither' (p. 152); and notes the tendency observable after the Revolution of 1688 for the Cabinet to supersede the Admiralty and send orders direct to the admirals at sea (pp. 217, 320).

The *Naval Minutes* furnish a certain amount of material for the biographer of Pepys, besides that which is associated with his History of the Navy. There is a reference to an idea of his which never took practical shape, of a General Chest on the lines of the Chest at Chatham, but 'to be contributed to from the merchants' service as well as the King's,' and relieving disabled seamen and widows from both services alike (p. 6). He also had it in his mind to write a Life of Lord Sandwich, and planned the collection of materials for it (p. 89), but he seems to have got no farther. At a great sacrifice of fees due to himself, he suggested the proclamation making unnecessary the renewal of commissions and warrants in the Navy on the Duke of York's surrender of the office of Lord High Admiral in 1673, 'which profits I voluntarily proposed my being prevented of, for the ease of the poor navy officers . . . And this though the King himself was afterwards to sign all commissions and warrants, whose hand was never before in any age or office made so cheap

as to be issued for nothing' (p. 41). We also learn that Pepys was really the originator of the victualling-contract of 1677, and of the instructions added to the patents of the Comptrollers of the Victualling and the Stores, the Treasurer of the Navy, 'and other Commissioners' (p. 57). He claims the authorship of the establishments of 1677 for chaplains (p. 76) and for men and guns (p. 182), and of the proclamation of 1674 forbidding the wearing of the King's flag by merchantmen (p. 77). He also drafted the new instructions for the office of Lord High Admiral adopted in 1673 (p. 151). He claims credit for his 'personal care' of the Mole at Tangier (p. 104); for making provision in the Navy Office 'for the collecting and keeping of journals' (p. 153); and for the 'keeping the guardships by commanders being allowed them' (p. 160). We find a reference to a scheme for 'the retaining strictly apart the stores laid up for particular ships,' which appears to have been defeated by 'laziness in the yard-officers, impatience and vanity of ship-officers, and the general pretence of keeping stores from decay' (p. 260). He prevented 'the provision for maintaining of decayed seamen from Trinity House' from being 'swallowed up by the watermen' (p. 233), and urged that body 'to the taking into their own hands the sounding of our coasts' (p. 188). He tells us that he refused to take out a pardon in advance, 'though most of the greatest Ministers of State have and do, and particularly my Lord of Shaftesbury' (p. 197); and he explains that he took out a patent for the office of Secretary of the Admiralty in 1684 'at the King's own instance and for his only service, by the enabling me to administer an oath' (p. 272).

It is not unnatural that the *Naval Minutes*

should contain a good many references to Pepys's sufferings in Parliament, for these had made a deep impression upon his mind. Although 'few sea-ports in England had two Burgesses to serve them in Parliament qualified like Sir Anthony Deane and me' (p. 229), he was known there 'under the envious name of Admiral' (p. 198). He consoles himself, however, with the thought, 'My aim is for the good of futurity, though little deserving it of me' (p. 215).

Certain characteristic observations remind us of the Pepys of the *Private Correspondence*, and even of the Pepys of the *Diary*. He has no illusions about his countrymen. 'The nature of the English is generally to be self-lovers, and thinking every thing of their own the best, viz. our beef, beer, women, horses, soldiers, religion, laws, etc., and from the same principles are over-valuers of our ships' (p. 2). He is impatient of inaccurate representations, and complains of 'the ridiculous pageants of ships and trade exposed upon the Lord Mayor's Days' (p. 103), and the 'scandalous barges made of lighters' that appeared upon the same occasion (p. 125). The sea is neglected in a country dependent upon it. 'England has taken a knight errant, St. George, for its guardian saint, and not any of the Apostles and other fishermen that would have had more relation to the sea' (p. 167); but 'the seaman's services' are 'not seen' (p. 191). 'Art is not an advantage particular to us, it being common to all other nations equal to us, but labour and experience; this making men diligent and painful, whilst art makes them rather idle, proud, and opinionate; and experience it is we must boast of at sea or nothing. More artists miscarry at sea (through their idleness

and presumption) than men of experience less knowing' (p. 228). 'Has any physician in any age offered at a remedy against the sea-sickness?' (p. 81). 'Observe the maliciousness of our English proverb towards the service of the sea, viz. That the sea and the gallows refused nobody. Which is verified too much in our practice of sending none thither but the vicious or poor' (p. 62).

Critics of the *Diary* have spoken of Pepys as 'credulous,' but in the *Naval Minutes* he is disposed to be sceptical. In what must have been in his day a daring experiment in the Higher Criticism, he dismisses, on technical grounds, the story of Noah's Ark (p. 205). He also pours contempt upon the report current at the beginning of the Popish Plot that the French had invaded the Isle of Purbeck with 40,000 men, and 'the folly of this nation who should not understand the sea better in so easily swallowing so ridiculous a story' (p. 209). On the other hand, he refers without comment to the raising of 'a storm at sea by means of witches' (p. 209).

More personal to himself is the remark that 'The life of a virtuous Officer in the Navy is a continual war defensive, viz. against the Ministers of State, and in particular the Lord Treasurers, in time of peace, and all prejudiced inquisitors and malcontents with the Navy management in time of war' (p. 264). 'To regulate and reform the Navy seems a work at this day little less than that ascribed to Hercules in his cleansing the Augean stables' (p. 309); but 'my felicity' is 'known to lie in less room and to be had with less noise (*sub otio literato*) than in the public troubles of life my employment hath been ever exposing me to' (p. 273).

Perhaps his most striking observation is one that

arises out of Pepys's experience as an historian: 'Memoirs are true and useful stars, whilst studied histories are those stars joined together in constellations, according to the fancy of the poet' (p. 69).

The EDITOR desires most gratefully to acknowledge the kindness of the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge, in allowing him to transcribe the manuscript; and the time and trouble unsparingly given by Mr. W. G. Perrin, the Admiralty Librarian, to reading the proofs. His thanks are also due to Mr. O. F. Morshead, the Pepysian Librarian, and to Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton for valuable notes. His indebtedness to the *Dictionary of National Biography* appears upon every page.

ALDEBURGH,
August 12, 1926.

NAVAL MINUTES

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Overlook the accounts of the Treasurers of the Navy that are to be found upon record.

Date of the Shipwrights' first charter,[1] *Q[uaere]?*

Ancient reports of the ships of England suitable to those of their vineyards.[2]

Admirals backward in the Act of Precedency.[3]

Overlook the *Voyage en Angleterre.*[4]

The like of *La Politique de France.*

Ditto De Ruyter's Life.[5]

[1] The charter granted to the Shipwrights in 1605 is printed in W. G. Perrin, *Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (Navy Records Society, vol. li. pp. 176–9). An account of the history of the Shipwrights is given in the Introduction to Mr. Perrin's volume

[2] See p. 110 below.

[3] 31 Henr. VIII, c. 10 (1549), 'An Act for the placing of the Lords in the Parliament.' The Lord Admiral is classed with the Great Chamberlain, Constable and Marshal, Steward, and King's Chamberlain (§ 5); these come after the Chancellor, Treasurer, Lord President of the Council, and Lord Privy Seal, and before the King's Secretary.

[4] In 1664 Samuel de Sorbière published *Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre*, in which he criticized the defects of the English character. This drew a reply from Thomas Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, addressed to his friend Christopher Wren, which was praised by Addison and mentioned by Johnson.

[5] Probably the French Life of De Ruyter published in Amsterdam in 1677 and translated into English the same year.

Q[*uaere*]. The monuments made by the States in memory of Opdam, De Ruyter, and Tromp ?

Sum up some signal circumstances in praise of our late seamen killed in our service, both lately and in the first Dutch War.[1]

Compare the provisions made by the English and French for sick and wounded seamen, widows, and orphans.

Ditto their and their officers' encouragement in the business of prizes.

Compare my late and the present bills for stationers' ware and candles to the Offices of the Admiralty and Navy.

Russell, though accused for a Papist, has been once in employment since I was out,[2] and another offered him which he has refused.

The great fleets boasted of in the time of our ancestors imply some suitable force of their enemies.

Q[*uaere*] whether any provision is made or notice taken of our dominion at sea and the flag in our Laws Martial.

The nature of the English is generally to be self-lovers, and thinking every thing of their own the best, viz. our beef, beer, women, horses, soldiers, religion, laws, etc., and from the same principles are over-valuers of our ships.

[1] 'Lately' refers to the war of 1672–74, the 'first' war being evidently that of 1665–67, and not the Dutch war under the Commonwealth to which the term is usually applied.

[2] Edward Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford, was appointed to command the Newcastle in 1680 by the Admiralty Commission which succeeded that of 1673–79 under which Pepys had served.

What must the pirates be to England when in the time of Richard the 2nd the Parliament itself established a charge to the King for the setting forth two ships, two barges, etc., to suppress them ?—Sir Philip Meadows.[1]

He tells me also that in Edward the 3rd's time the Parliament did petition the King to do something like asserting the Dominion of the Seas.[2] But what, I do not remember.

The House of Commons will never ascertain their privileges nor be bound by their orders ; and yet expect the King should.

The instructions to commanders at sea were never yet clear and certain.

Q[*uaere*], what was the book that was lately given the King[3] by William Penn at Windsor relating to the navy ?

Endeavour after instances of the strength and[4] weakness of the sea-force of England in every age.

To that end, examine the indexes of our English histories.

[1] Sir Philip Meadows's work on *The Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas* appeared in 1689, but in 1687 he had sent a copy to Pepys. This is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1474], and there is also a transcript in *Miscellanies*, ix. 2–115. It is probable that the first draft of it had been completed in 1672 (T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, p. 524 *n.*).

[2] This may possibly refer to 18 Edw. III, st. ii. c. 3,—'that the sea be open to all manner of merchants to pass with their merchandise where it shall please them.'

[3] This must be Charles II, as the *Naval Minutes* were begun in 1680. Penn did not sail for America until September 1682.

[4] The words 'strength and' are inserted in Pepys's own writing.

Remember Monk's contempt of the Dutch,[1] and the general contempt our gallants [had] of them at the beginning of our first War.

Do our laws consist with our being great at sea with respect to the pressing of men ?

We are envious of one another's knowledge instead of communicating of it :—witness Drake's ill usage of the poor man he found in the West Indies and was piloted by him there.[2]

First and remote discoveries may be kept secret, especially where it is worth the charge of providing against the approach of strangers, as it is to the Spaniards in America. But where nations do traffic one with another, as they do here, it is impossible; and in that consideration the Spaniards were in the right in directing of schools for navigation[3] for the breeding of pilots, and thereby removing the necessity of serving themselves with strangers, this instance of Drake's confirming their caution therein. But for us that are openly traded with, that reason ceases, so that our schools are not so much to prevent the knowledge of strangers as the want of persons of our own country to understand our coasts.

[1] Monk was charged by his contemporaries with over-confidence, which led him to attack with inferior forces without waiting for Prince Rupert to join him; see Evelyn's *Diary*, June 6, 1666, and Pepys, July 4.

[2] ' He found there Philip, an Indian, who told him where he was and conducted him to Baldivia, where he took his first prize of treasure, and in that ship he found a pilot called John Grege, who guided him all that coast, in which he possessed himself of the rest, which pilot, because he should not rob him of his reputation and knowledge in those parts (resisting the entreaties and tears of all his company) he set him ashore upon the Island of Altegulors [Alligators] to be by them devoured ' (' Sir Walter Rawleigh his Apologie for his voyage to Guiana,' p. 19, in *Judicious and Select Essays*, 1650).

[3] See note 3 on p. 415 below.

A new channel lately found, in the very mouth of the river of Thames, big enough for a whole fleet to pass.[1]

And a large water in Essex capable for a whole fleet to ride in.

ABOUT SEA-MARKS

The Trinity House is said by Sir John Clayton to have long ago certified, in opposition to him, that there was no need of any more.[2]

Several new ones and alterations of old ones lately made and published.

Five lights obtained by Sir John Clayton in one patent, and none of them good.

Power of erecting lights is indeed given to the Trinity House; but to be built and maintained at the charge of the poor.

Which they not being able to do, grants of lights are obtained by private persons to their own profit.

Report the history of Sporn[3] light.

Ditto of the complaints of the ill-keeping of those upon the Forelands.

Ditto of that of Harwich.

Ditto of the sunken rock near Plymouth.[4]

[1] This was discovered *c.* 1674 by 'Mr. Betts the pilot' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 47).

[2] A licence to erect lighthouses on the northern coast had been granted to Sir John Clayton in 1669 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1668–69, p. 461; 1673–75, p. 41), but his plans were opposed by the Trinity House. For documents relating to the controversy, see *ib.* 1673–75, p. 457, and 1675–76, p. 251.

[3] Spurn.

[4] See p. 59 below.

Get a general list of all the sea-marks of England that are maintained at an expense, whether lights or buoys, with their several profits, charge, and proprieties.

Recollect my old thoughts of a general Chest, to be contributed to from the merchants' service as well as the King's, for the relief of men wounded and the widows of others slain in the merchants' service and the King's alike; by which seamen will readily come into the King's service in time of war, and will not deliver up their ships and loading in merchants' service, as they have of late been found to do for want of such a provision.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Complains of the blasphemous and debauched crew[1] he was fain to man his ship with when he went to Guiana.[2]

Reproaches Drake and Candish[3] with meanness of spirit when fortune forsook them.[4]

Tells us that the late expedition to the Islands

[1] MS. 'crue.'

[2] 'The very scum of the world: drunkards, blasphemers, and such others as their fathers, brothers, and friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged of them' ('Sir Walter Rawleigh his Apologie for his voyage to Guiana,' p. 3, in *Judicious and Select Essays*).

[3] Thomas Cavendish the explorer.

[4] 'These two in these two voyages were the children of fortune and much honoured; but when Sir Francis Drake . . . received the repulse aforesaid, he died for sorrow. . . . I say that one and the same end they both had, to wit Drake and Candish, when chance had left them to the trial of their own virtues' ('Apologie,' p. 21 *ib.*).

was the greatest voyage that was ever made by the ships of the Crown.[1]

Would have men of quality and not little men have the commands at the seas; giving his reasons for it, and good ones.[2]

And yet in his directions about building a ship, dissuades building of cabins in such a place, because they cannot be good enough for men of quality, though they may for lower people.[3]

Takes notice in his *Voyage to Guiana* of Keimish's not being able to find where he had been before, or something to that purpose.[4]

No provision made in England for the regular bringing-in and collecting of voyages.

Most of the best voyages extant in the world, and even in English, have been written by

[1] 'For this journey to the Islands did most of all others discover unto us these experiences and trials in the Royal Navy, for that it was the longest navigation that ever was made out of our realm . . . ' ('Observations on the Navy and Sea Service,' p. 25, in *Judicious and Select Essays*).

[2] *Ib.* p. 40.

[3] 'But our mariners will say that a ship will bear more charging aloft for cabins, and that is true if none but ordinary mariners were to serve in them, who are able to endure and are used to the tumbling and rowling of ships from side to side when the sea is never so little grown. But men of better sort and better breeding would be glad to find more steadiness' ('Observations,' p. 14 *ib.*).

[4] Lawrence Kemys, the sea-captain who accompanied Raleigh on his expeditions. The reference is to *The Discovery of Guiana*, pp. 99–105.

foreigners, and particularly that of St. Helena by Pyrard.[1]

Q[*uaere*]. When the map and account of Munden's being at that Island were printed,[2] and whether the East India Company knew not the same as well long before, and whether we had not printed accounts of it before in English ?

Collect and examine all foreign narratives of our late war at sea.

Examine all printed catalogues of books for books marine.

Copy my Lady Compton's [3] draught and the writing about it.

Enquire the present resorts of French vessels, to what ports.

Examine Oxford Library for the old Rutters.[4]

Make use of Paget's [5] old letter, given me by Mr. Evelyn, about foreign enemies.

Our magazines small compared to all the world, and our conveniencies in our yards.

[1] François Pyrard, *Voyage . . . aux Indes Orientales* (1611), a copy of a translation of which is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1853]. Pyrard called at St. Helena on his outward voyage in 1601, and again on his return in 1610. His description of the island is in the Hakluyt Society's translation (1887), vol. ii. (part ii.), pp. 298–302.

[2] An official account of Richard Munden's capture of St. Helena from the Dutch, May 4, 1673, was printed in that year. He was knighted on his return to England.

[3] Possibly the wife of the Sir William Compton, Master of the Ordnance, who is several times referred to in the *Diary*. He died in 1663 and she in 1671.

[4] A Rutter was a set of instructions for finding one's course at sea (*Oxford Dictionary*).

[5] Possibly the William, Lord Paget, afterwards ambassador to Turkey, referred to in Evelyn's *Diary* (October 1, 1692).

Selden's *Title of Honour*[1] examine.

Apply the business of Shibboleth.

Examine the life of General Monk[2] for the sea part of it.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane][3] says that no Englishman could have built such a vessel for the sea and accommodation both, and so small, as a yacht, before the Mary yacht was brought from Holland.[4]

Examine D[uke of] Y[ork]'s catalogue.

We have thought fit to retain prizes of every nation, viz. Dutch, French, Turks, and the Spanish Eagle[5] in '88, while the Dutch have broken up our best and the Turks break up all; And *quaere* what the French and Spaniards have done?

Note that the French King has chosen to buy men-of-war of the Dutch and Swedes, and none of us but a couple of yachts for Versailles.[6]

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] says that no one shape of a ship can be in general said to be the best; for every distinct use requires a different shape, and the skill lies only in building best for the particular use designed, which differs as your purposes for this or that depth of water, for speed, for strength, for weight of guns, for number of men, for calm or rough seas, for short or long

[1] John Selden's *Titles of Honour* was published in 1614.

[2] The reference must be to the life published by Monk's chaplain, Thomas Gumble, in 1671.

[3] The famous shipbuilder. See *D.N.B.* xiv. 251.

[4] See p. 241 below.

[5] She does not appear in Elizabeth's list of ships (M. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509–1660, pp. 120–1).

[6] See *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, vol. iii. p. xlvii.

voyages, for stowage of goods, and many other circumstances, as fewness of hands to sail with, bearing sail, etc.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] says that the small frigates of the Dutch, which draw no more water than their harbours will afford, are as good sailers as we.

He says also that the Dutch have an advantage over us by a 12th part in the weight of their timber being lighter than ours, and all the consequences thereof.

Shipwrights' Hall [1] anciently consulted with upon the building of ships for the King.[2]

I was fain to stop the House of Lords from taking away from Trinity House the power of licensing watermen and giving it to the Watermen's Company.[3]

The meanness of the two Companies of Shipwrights and Watermen and Trinity House.

How few men have ever raised estates of either of those Companies purely as such.

Q[*uaere*]. Drake's estate and Candish [4] and Hawkins and the Earl of Nottingham ? [5]

And all our modern officers and commanders ?

[1] See note on p. 1 above. [2] See p. 13 below.

[3] On March 22, 1677, Pepys, as Master of the Trinity House, had opposed in Committee the Seamen's and Watermen's Bill then before Parliament, and it was dropped in the House of Lords (Historical MSS. Commission, *Ninth Report*, Part II and Appendix, p. 87 ; see also *Lords' Journals*, xiii. 90).

[4] See note on p. 6 above.

[5] Better known as Lord Howard of Effingham, who commanded against the Armada.

Q[*uaere*] have not some been losers by it, viz. Duke of Buckingham 30,000*l.* for the Isle of Rye,[1] the Earl of Cumberland,[2] Sir Walter Raleigh.

How few of the seamen raise to honour.

Instance in Sir Thomas Gold's [3] picking up a better estate by breaking up of ships.

Our laws upon the coasts rather to the prejudice than encouragement of the navigation.[4]

Observe the functions that generally have raised estates and honour in England.

View the charter of the Company of Watermen.

July the 29th, 1680. The *Gazette* this day tells us of an engine proposed in Holland for towing the ships over the pampas.[5] *Q*[*uaere*] whether the same as ours, and that which Moralis speaks of at Paris.

Q[*uaere*] what old naval books or papers the King has touching navigation.

Small fee or salary appointed to the Lord Admiral, compared with the other Great Officers.

Seller,[6] upon his present survey of the coast of Kent, finds the said coast so ill laid down hitherto

[1] Ré.

[2] George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, fitted out ten privateering expeditions between 1586 and 1598. They were mostly failures, and he died in debt.

[3] Thomas Gold, sheriff of London, had been knighted October 29, 1675.

[4] Written 'nation,' and corrected in Pepys's own hand.

[5] MS. 'pampus.'

[6] John Seller, hydrographer to Charles II. This paragraph is in opposition to the view taken in the *D.N.B.* (lvi. 228) that Seller was not a surveyor but only a compiler and seller of charts.

in both our land- and sea-charts, that for the more complete finishing his said present work he designs to borrow a yacht of the King to new survey the sands also upon the said coast, they necessarily being now laid down false in reference to the said coast.

It would be worth making a comparison, and to observe the particulars (if any) wherein the Dutch charts, new or old (viz. the Waggener [1] or their imitation of Seller's), are more correct than ours.

The neglect of Dover pier, and history of it.[2]

Read the life of King Alfred with relation to the Cinque Ports, which (as Dr. Gale [3] tells me) were able to set forth but seven ships against the Danes.

And that the Cinque Ports did also join with London against the Conqueror.

He also notes that Normandy was taken from the King of France by people from Norway.

How could this kingdom be so subject to pirates as it appears to have anciently been, if we had been always so powerful at sea ?

[1] Originally an atlas of charts published in 1584 by Lucas Janssen Waghenaer. The anglicized form ' Waggoner ' came to be a general term for a book of charts for nautical use. Seller borrowed freely from the Dutch for the maps and charts of *The English Pilot*, published by him in 1671. The Pepysian Library contains the Dutch Waggoner of 1584, the Latin edition of 1586, and Ashley's English translation of 1588.

[2] There is a reference to ' the importance and present bad condition ' of Dover pier in a minute of November 4, 1674 (*Admiralty Journal*, p. 79).

[3] Dr. Thomas Gale was High Master of St. Paul's School from 1672 until his appointment in 1697 to the Deanery of York. He was one of Pepys's frequent correspondents.

The Shipwrights' Hall [1] did anciently use to view and approve of the draughts of the ships that were to be built for the King and to survey them in the building; and therefore must needs understand how to build them; and yet provided so small a penalty in their laws.

Sir Phinees Pett will shew me a discourse of old Commissioner Pett's, giving an account of the ill-usage he met with in building of the Prince and Sovereign.[2]

He tells me also in discourse that the Naseby and very many of our great ships have been forced to be girdled.

I may truly challenge to myself to have been the chief, if not the only occasion of this last parcel of the best ships that ever were built in England by my contending for them and their large dimensions in Parliament, even against the opinion of some of our own sea-flag-officers there, viz. Sir Robert Holmes, etc.; nay, did afterwards industriously promote and make effectual the King's own inclinations to increase their dimensions yet larger, out of his own purse.[3]

On the other hand, I did sufficiently express my caution against the too large admitting the new invention of upright stems [4] to be adventured upon at first till an experiment were made thereof

[1] See note on p. 1 above.

[2] This is no doubt the *Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, appointed a Commissioner of the Navy in 1631 (see note on p. 1 above). Pepys obtained the loan of the original from Phineas Pett, the Commissioner's grandson, and had it transcribed into vol. i. of his *Miscellanies*, p. 51 ff.

[3] On Pepys's share in the building of the thirty new ships under the Act of 1677, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, i. 53–4, 221–5; iv. pp. xci–xcix.

[4] *Ib.* iv. 468, 607.

upon one ship, the Captain, Sir John Holmes commander, even against the King's inclinations, who would admit no doubt concerning them, though now he does, and Sir P. Pett [1] tells me not without reason; they proving very ill, and he from the beginning not following the King's direction to the height which others did, as the King ordered.

He says also that no ship was ever built truly according to its draught, but some variation or other did always happen when it comes to be put in execution.

As a full instance, he tells me that he built the Hampshire by the very same draught by which his father built the Sapphire, and yet she proved nothing near so good a sailer as the Sapphire.[2]

He says that the Edgar's sailing so well is to be imputed only to her builder's good fortune in placing her masts right, which in her is 10 or 12 feet more aft than any ship the King has; and that that is the principal reason why ships built by the best builders do sometimes fail of sailing well, though they have never so good bodies, viz. their not happening to set their masts right, that being a thing for which there is not to this day any certain rule found. The St. Andrew,[3] for instance (he says) has as good a shape for sailing as any ship of her size the King has, and yet did

[1] Phineas Pett, the master-shipwright at Chatham, was knighted August 5, 1680, on his appointment as a Commissioner of the Navy and Comptroller of the Stores.

[2] The Sapphire was built at Ratcliffe by Peter Pett in 1651, and the Hampshire at Deptford by Phineas Pett in 1653; they were both 4th-rates.

[3] The St. Andrew, a 1st-rate, was built in 1670 by Mr. Edward Byland. Christopher Pett, who was master-shipwright at Woolwich and Deptford, died in 1668.

not sail at all till he had shifted her masts six feet further aft ; and now no ship of her bigness outsails her. She was begun by Christopher Pett at Woolwich, and upon his death finished by Byland.

He agrees in his discourse with what was lately observed to me upon this subject by Sir A[nthony] D[eane], viz. that the considerations to be ascertained beforehand for the building of a good sailing ship are necessarily and principally these, viz. : number of men, peace or war, good husbandry in lightness of rigging, etc., number and weight of guns, nature of different seas, more or less accommodation, strength for lasting, depth of water.

My Lord of Warwick did expressly determine every one of these beforehand to Sir P. Pett's father when he built the Constant Warwick,[1] saying that he aimed at nothing but sailing, and therefore would have but so many men and so few guns, and those light ones, never a standing cabin (nor had she any) to carry but little provisions, nor did care how little a while she lasted ; and therefore she was but very weak of timber trembling in the sea as the Turkish privateers do, and was always kept in her trim by filling with salt water their victualling casks as fast as they were emptied of provisions. By which means she is said to have cut through the water so that the waves have gone over her head in such a manner as that her commander has told Sir P. Pett that he has sometimes been afraid that she would never have

[1] Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, appointed Lord High Admiral by the Parliament in 1643, was closely connected with the colonization of America and with privateering ventures. His ship, the Constant Warwick, was built at Ratcliffe by Peter Pett in 1646, and rebuilt at Portsmouth by Sir John Tippetts in 1666. See also p. 18 below.

appeared above water again. *Memorandum:* That after his proof of her for some time in the private service of my Lord of Warwick and his partners as a caper [1] (Sir P. Pett remembering, though then a boy, her bringing-in of prizes), she was bought of my Lord and his partners (among whom was Sir P. Pett's father and Mr. Jessop [2]), into the State's service.

Sir P. Pett also tells me that they are under no more certain rule at this day touching the length of their masts than the place of setting them; and therefore they do generally observe (and he gave me several instances of it) that ships do sail better with jurymasts than with their first masts, which he observes to shew that ships are generally overmasted at first.

And the like as to squareness of yards and other things, wherein builders do generally govern themselves (as the King does usually reproach them) either by tradition or each man's private opinion.

He tells me the King has now newly invented and introduced the practice of bumpkins,[3] which Sir P. P. says will be found very useful.

The Pearl [4] but with ninety men on board lately chasing a Turks' vessel with 320 men, was so fortunate as not to be able to overtake the

[1] *I.e.* a privateer.

[2] Perhaps the Mr. Jessop referred to in the *Diary*, who in 1668 was made Secretary to the Commission of Public Accounts.

[3] 'A short boom or beam of timber projecting from each bow of a ship. . . . Its use is to extend the clue or lower corner of the foresail to windward . . .' (Smyth, *The Sailor's Word-book*).

[4] A 5th-rate. Her full complement for war abroad was 110.

Turk, by which she would probably have been mastered. August the 5th, 1680.

The King did also this day tell us that a renegado of St. Malo's did about fifty years ago come to Sir George Carteret,[1] who was then a captain in the King's service (as Sir George himself has often told the King the story) came and offered to build a vessel of twenty guns that should outsail any ship the King of England had, and[2] would have nothing for his pains, but would stand to the King's generosity for a reward if it succeeded. This man Sir G. C. brought to the King,[3] and was by him recommended to the then Officers of the Navy who, taking it in indignation that any Frenchman should pretend to do more at building of ships than they, wholly slighted the man's proposition; who then, not being able to live here without employment, was advised by Sir G. C. to go over to Dunkirk, where that people being then at war, Sir George Carteret believed they would embrace his proposition. Which accordingly fell out: he going over thither first invented and built there the ships called frigates; the King[4] observing it as his opinion that this fellow took his rise for this invention from the shape of the St. Malo's shallops, which are the best in the world, he building his frigates of the same shape; as the Dunkirkers have since derived their shallops from this man's frigates, and consequently make them very good. After which one of this Frenchman's frigates coming into the river of Thames, the shape of her body was taken very strictly by

[1] Sir George Carteret had been a lieutenant in the navy in 1632 and a captain in 1633. He was Treasurer of the Navy when Pepys was Clerk of the Acts.

[2] MS. 'or.' [3] Charles I. [4] Charles II.

Sir P[hineas] Pett's father,[1] who was then (as I take it) master-shipwright at Deptford, besides the private yard he kept at Ratcliffe, where he soon after built the first frigate that ever England had, namely, the Constant Warwick, which he built for the Earl of Warwick for a privateer, in which she succeeded very well and was then sold by him to the State,[2] and was the best sailer that ever England had. Sir P[hineas] Pett owns the truth of this story of his father's taking the shape of a foreign frigate upon which he built the Warwick, Sir P. Pett remembering something of it, though then young. Where it is to be observed that in his father's epitaph he is made (as I remember) the inventor of the frigate.[3]

Sir P. Pett tells me that in her first built[4] she was built very weak, no more timbers to bind her than was just sufficient to keep her together, without one standing cabin between decks, always kept clean, light, and in her trim.

He tells me also that he does not know that we are at this day one bit improved in the shape or building of our sailing frigates, though we are in our greater ships of the first- and second-rates, which are built for burthen, force, and battery. But on the contrary, we have rather lost the virtue of our frigates by study of accommodation, and excess in the weight of guns, number of men, and quantities of provisions.

Our fifth-rates are now become too small for the Algerines.

[1] The 'Peter Pett, senior,' of Pepys's *Register of Ships*.

[2] MS. 'States.' See also p. 15 above.

[3] Evelyn also refers to the Constant Warwick built by Peter Pett as the first frigate to be built in England (*Diary*, March 7, 1689–90).

[4] An obsolete form of 'build.'

Note that Sir Anthony Ashley's [1] books of maps were never printed but once, nor any other by anybody else of any consideration till Seller's, and Ashley's never lookt after ; whereas the Dutch Waggener has been continually kept in print and sold under many names over all the world in diverse languages, and continually preferred and used by us, notwithstanding Ashley's pretence to have corrected him.

Nay, so much is the reputation of the Dutch better than ours for sea-maps, and even among ourselves too, that the Dutch have thought it worth their while, even at this very time, to copy out Seller's [2] own map in English, which they are too good husbands to do if they could not sell them[3] unto us. And Mr. Gascoyne [4] observes that they have done it with so much exactness that in one of them they have printed the very advertisement inserted by Seller of the maps and platts, etc., which are sold by him.

Was Captain Holland [5] ever pardoned ?

Our merchants sail with strangers of all nations, and our merchant builders employ strangers in their yards.

[1] Sir Anthony Ashley, Clerk to the Privy Council, was the grandfather of the first Earl of Shaftesbury. He translated Waghenaer's work from Dutch into English under the title, *The Mariner's Mirrour . . . of Navigation.* It appeared in 1588. See also note on p. 12 above.

[2] See note on p. 11 above.

[3] This word is inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[4] Probably 'Gascoin the plat-maker,' referred to on p. 42 below.

[5] On April 28, 1672, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Philip Holland, suspected of being a spy, as he had deserted during the last Dutch war, and was supposed to have served the enemy by conducting their ships into the English rivers (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1671–72, p. 390). He appears to have been pardoned on his undertaking to spy on the Dutch (*ib.*, 1672, p. 390).

Make use of Mr. Gregory's [1] note, that by our ignorance of a northerly channel in the river Medway we sunk our fireships at the Muskle Bank,[2] where they were not useful.

Our magazines here exposed to public view, but not so abroad.

Dutchmen come into the river of Medway and lie there all the winter long, buying of oysters.

Captain Holland [3] come into the Medway with the Dutch fleet, and several Englishmen more, but they needed them not.

Sir John Chichley [4] tells of a tradition, and Mr. Gregory [1] (I think) also, of the French coming up the river of Medway as high as Stroud,[5] in the time of the fair there, and carried away some persons out of the fair. *Q.* the truth of that story.

Q[*uaere*] from Mr. Blathwayte [6] the sum that De Witt has been allowed upon his account for private service under no more words than these, *Better as niet* ? [7]

Douglas's Scotch soldiers [8] plundered the houses of the King's officers in the yards while they were looking after the enemy.

[1] Probably Mr. Edward Gregory, who was clerk of the check at Chatham in 1673.

[2] The Muscle or Mussel Bank in the Long Reach in the Medway.

[3] See note on p. 19 above.

[4] Sir John Chicheley was Commissioner of the Navy 1675–79.

[5] Strood.

[6] Probably the William Blathwayt who was afterwards Secretary-at-War (*D.N.B.* v. 206). In 1677 he was Secretary to the Committee of Trade (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 538).

[7] *Beter als niet*, better than nothing.

[8] Lord George Douglas's regiment took part in the defence of Sheppey and the ships in the Medway in 1667. On this regiment, the Royal Scots, see an article by Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton in *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, 1924, pp. 90–98.

Q[*uaere*] how little of our coasts have been surveyed by us of late; and therefore to be doubted that in all the rest we must have followed the Dutch platts.

Look up Mr. Gregory's[1] account of Chatham business.

Speak with Sir A[nthony] D[eane] about the present state of timber in England for the building of any more first- and second-rate ships; some people talking as if there were great stores yet to be had.

Van Gent[2] came up as high as Gillingham with 25 ships; De Ruyter staying with the rest below.

None of our pilots would have undertaken to have carried the Royal Charles down the River as the Dutch did.

I sent and had a particular account of all that was a doing at Brest. And why may not anybody else do as much here?

Auxiliaries in all nations must understand the method of service of the nations they serve among.

Hath not Seller[3] himself printed one or more of his own books? And why did he so?

Sir John Lowther[4] observes to me that there was but two of the seven new admirals that were not against the thirty ships.

We complain of our having too much trade

[1] See note on p. 20 above.
[2] Willem Josef Van Ghent, Dutch admiral.
[3] See note on p. 11 above.
[4] Sir John Lowther, afterwards Viscount Lonsdale, was M.P. for Westmorland from 1676 to 1696. On the Act of 1677 for building thirty new ships see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 48–54.

with France; and yet would suppose them ignorant of our coasts.

The Act of Navigation is not grounded upon design of keeping strangers ignorant of our coasts (and that would nevertheless have implied that our coast was to that time too well known to strangers), but for increasing the English manufacture of shipping. Read the Act.[1]

Consult Camden's *Remains* and Verstigan [2] for anything useful.

As much as Mr. Harbord [3] has made of my Lord of Sandwich's fears of the growth of France to the prejudice of England, he signed the articles for the uniting of our fleets, etc., and therefore did not apprehend they had much to learn of our coasts, ports, or discipline.

Q[*uaere*] the difficulty of our entering into the Fly,[4] and yet we did it.

Mr. Houblon [5] tells me that he was the first that proposed to the Trinity House the putting up this new light at Scilly.

I was the earliest, I believe, that adventure[d] of my own head to countersign a warrant of the

[1] 12 Car. II, c. 18.

[2] Camden's *Remains* was published in 1605; it contains collections from his *Britannia*, 'the rude rubble and outcast rubbish of a greater and more serious work' (*D.N.B.* viii. 280). Richard Rowlands, *alias* Verstegen, published in 1605 *Antiquities concerning the English Nation*.

[3] William Harbord, Pepys's enemy, was an opponent of the alliance with France.

[4] Vlie Stroom, the channel between the Dutch Frisian Islands of Vlieland and Terschelling.

[5] James Houblon, Pepys's friend, was in close touch with the affairs of the Trinity House.

King's that might have begun an actual war with France upon our ships carrying men to Flanders.[1]

Q[*uaere*] is not the safeguard [2]of the sea[2] (of Seller's)[3] a book in esteem among us at this day; and whether the Rutter[4] ever in Dutch, as the printed catalogue says ours was translated from it in Queen Elizabeth's time; and whether it be now to be had in Dutch?

Q[*uaere*] the history of the double-bottom from Gresham College, Sir William Petty,[5] and Mr. Houblon?

The ignorant censur[es] of men at land have made many of our bravest men desperate, to their destruction at sea. *Q.* examples.

We have often complained in the navy of want of able pilots, both in this River and the Medway, and had under consideration how to supply the same,[6] the able ones being worn out and men undertaking pilotage who be[7] not approved by the Trinity House.

Sir William Temple (as Mr. Gibson[8] tells me)

[1] On the despatch of English troops to Flanders in 1678 see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. pp. xxviii–xxxi. Pepys was at this time Secretary of the Admiralty.

[2] These three words are inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[3] See note on p. 11 above. It is not clear to which of Seller's works Pepys is referring.

[4] See Mr. Senior's article, 'The Rutter of the Sea,' in *Mariner's Mirror*, vi. 243.

[5] Papers relating to Sir William Petty's experiments in ship-building, including his double-bottomed boat, are in the Pepysian Library (see *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, Part I, Index).

[6] See the entries in the *Admiralty Journal* on this subject (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. p. lvii).

[7] 'Who be' is inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[8] Richard Gibson, a clerk in the Navy Office, is frequently referred to in the *Diary*. Some account of his career is given in *The First Dutch War*, 1652–54 (*N.R.S.* Publications), i. 1–2.

says in his book [1] that De Wit used to say that none but the English could have fought the second and third day after such ill success as they had the first of the three days' fight.[2]

And that Sir W. T. does also observe that notwithstanding all the straits that the Dutch have been ever in for other occasions, they have never to this day diverted their funds for sea-service.[3]

Mr. Gibson [4] observes that our English seamen are generally greater ramblers and effect more variety of voyages than any other nations; others, and particularly the Dutch, being generally more stationary, keeping to particular voyages.

That it can never be well in the navy till the poor seamen can be paid once in a year at furthest and tickets answered like bills of exchange. Whereas at this very day, September the 5th, 1680, ships are kept out two or three years, and four of them just now ordered forth again only for want of money, after being brought in to be paid off.[5]

The King's wages better than merchantmen's, and yet his service shunned by reason of bad pay.

[1] The Grand Pensionary, John de Witt, was one of Sir William Temple's intimate friends. The book referred to is *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, published in 1672.

[2] This was the contemporary name for the action of June 1–4, 1666, described in Pepys's *Diary*. The passage to which Pepys refers runs as follows: 'And in this battle Monsieur de Witt confessed to me . . . that he was sure their men could never have been brought on the two following days after the disadvantages of the first; and he believed no other nation was capable of it but ours' (7th edition, 1705, p. 256). *Cf.* the similar observation attributed to Louis XIV in the *Reminiscences* of Richard Gibson, printed in *The First Dutch War*, 1652–54, ed. S. R. Gardiner, i. 47.

[3] 'The customs . . . are particularly affected to the Admiralty, and appliable to no other use' (*ib.* p. 121).

[4] See note on p. 23 above.

[5] For instances of long arrears of pay and the depreciation of tickets see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 108, 117, 142.

Mr. G[ibson][1] observes also that courage arises much from the nature and plenty of our diet; and that the English sailors have better allowance of diet than any other nations but to become at this day much depraved; and as merchantmen observe the King's usage to seamen to grow worse in any particular, they make theirs to do so too.

And he observes that upon coming home of merchantmen, their masters do give their seamen a great deal of trouble before they can get their pay, our laws being very hard upon them.

He says also that the practice of short allowance was originally only for health's sake and lengthening out the ship's provisions, and for dry provisions only, and after the rate of *2d.* per man a day for the same, punctually paid to them while at sea every week, or month at most, to the great satisfaction and refreshment of the men when they came into a port; whereas now they have but three half-pence for dry provisions or *2d.* for wet and dry; and that not till their coming home at the end of their voyage, and then with difficulty, so as they have not the benefit or pleasure of receiving it abroad.

He observes how grievous the present practice is at the discharging of ships to pay only the present men.

That the Treasurer of the Navy being no seaman, and therefore neither knowing in, nor by his presence at pays or at the Navy Board either conversant with or concerned for, the distresses of the seamen, their wives and families, and consequently not solicitous in his place on their behalfs,

[1] See note on p. 23 above.

as he ought to be, is one of the most unhappy considerations in the whole business of the navy.

He observes (I know not upon what authority) that the Dutch began with us in the first war with gentlemen and were beaten; but in the latter did beat us, they serving themselves with seamen and we with landmen.[1] Besides the many other inconveniences of land-commanders, of their taking up more room in their luxury and accommodation, to the straitening and discouraging of their under-officers and pestering and annoying the ships with their hen-coops, etc.[2]

Sir Richard Haddock[3] tells me that General Blake, though a very great husband and covetous man, and had a long time an opportunity of getting, did not nevertheless leave above 3000*l.* estate behind him when he died, and that it is impossible for any man by the bare wages and ordinary lawful profits of his place as a commander at sea ever to lay up anything for his family.

Old Captain Young tells me of one Roberts, an English shipwright, that served the King of Denmark.

And Mr. Custis[4] of one Ravens, that went over into Holland as a fanatic at the King's first coming-in, and built ships there, and was killed in their service at sea.

Mr. Custis also tells me that De Ruyter slighted

[1] See Appendix II., p. 447 below.
[2] *Cf. The First Dutch War*, 1652–54, i. 45.
[3] *D.N.B.* xxiii. 427.
[4] Possibly Edmund Custis, who was employed on enterprises connected with shipping and with intelligences from abroad (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1673–75, index).

our Captain Holland,[1] and not only neglected him at the time of [the] Chatham business but lookt upon him as a spy; so as Custis saw him very poor and without a band in Holland after that service.

He tells me also that the Dutch value not our ships which they take, only they did set forth the St. Patrick[2] for a voyage to the Straits as a convoy, after much alteration in her within-board, and changing her stern from our King's arms.

Look up the notes to be collected from Sir William Temple's book,[3] in the pages noted to that purpose by Mr. Gibson,[4] touching the confessed courage of the English, his imputing much of it to their diet; the Dutch's ordinary expense in their navy; and sacredness of their Funds, etc.

Little services of great ships,—instance the history of all the actions of the Royal Sovereign.

Infer from Sir William Temple's book[3] how little the business of the navy of any nation can be a secret.

Observe Mr. Evelyn's note in his letter to me of the 7th October, 1680, out of Dr. Burnet's History, that Henry the 8th made use of his expense in fortifying the coasts as an argument

[1] See note on p. 19 above.

[2] The St. Patrick, a 4th rate, was taken by the Dutch in February 1666–67.

[3] See note on p. 24 above. The passage about diet runs: 'Perhaps difference of diet may make greater difference in men's natural courage than is commonly thought of. . . . This made a great physician among us say he would make any man a coward with six weeks' dieting' (pp. 180–81). *Cf. The First Dutch War*, i. 46.

[4] See note on p. 23 above.

for taking into his hands the revenues of the Church.[1]

Propose a reward per annum for which the whole that is now pretended to of intelligence[2] shall be done with reference to all the maritime princes of Europe.[3]

The King by a printed order for the encouragement of Mr. Seller's[4] new work, countersigned by my Lord Sunderland,[5] does approve of his past works and promotes his present of rectifying the maps of our coasts.

Collect from Mr. Seller[4] the number and nature of the errors by him rectified in his new survey of counties.

Get a list of the engineers[6] of the Kings of England, to see how few of them have been of our own country.

Discoursing this 11th of September, 1680, with his Majesty and Colonel Legg[7] on board his new yacht[8] upon this subject, viz. how it comes to pass that England has in all times served itself with strangers for engineers; the King told me

[1] 'Great sums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many ports in the Channel and other parts of England which were raised by the sale of abbey lands' (Burnet, *History of the Reformation* (edition of 1825), i. 347).

[2] 'Of intelligence' is inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[3] A scheme by James Houblon for the provision of 'publique marine intelligence,' dated May 1677, is printed in Lady Alice Archer-Houblon, *The Houblon Family*, i. 221–5.

[4] See note on p. 11 above. There are two of Seller's works in the Pepysian Library: the *Sea Atlas* (1675), and the *Streights Pilot* (1677).

[5] The Earl of Sunderland was at this time a Secretary of State.

[6] MS. here and elsewhere 'engeniers.'

[7] Colonel George Legge, afterwards Lord Dartmouth.

[8] Probably the Henrietta.

that England has never bred an able engineer of its own, no Englishmen having given their mind to it, nor have we had occasion enough to invite any to the study of it ; he never remembering any but two in all his time, viz. Sir Charles (I think) Floud and Sir Godfrey Floud,[1] the former of whom he said [was] worth very little, and the latter was (at Sir John Duncomb [2] and Sir William Coventry's [3] urging him to encourage Englishmen) entrusted with the designing and managing the work at Sheerness, where, after spending 2000*l.*, the King said he was forced to undo all that he had done and put it into the hand of Sir Bernard Degum,[4] who, and Beckman [5] (another foreigner), are his present engineers ; That there is very little mystery in the scientifical part of an engineer's trade,—a small knowledge in geometry, and particularly the doctrine of triangles, being sufficient for it,—but that the only difficulty lies in judging and right laying out the ground for fortifications (which is not to be done but upon view of the place, where the ground is uneven) and the well-estimating beforehand the charge of a work which differs according to the nature of the soil rendering the labour of digging more or less easy ; That the Germans, of all nations, have for a long time been esteemed the best engineers, but that now the French do go beyond all ; So that

[1] On the two brothers Lloyd or Floyd see *D.N.B.* xxxiii. 408 and 420. Sir Godfrey Lloyd had a high reputation as a military engineer, and on December 27, 1661, he was appointed 'chief engineer of all ports, castles, and fortifications in England and Wales.'

[2] Sir John Duncombe was Chancellor of the Exchequer 1672–79.

[3] *D.N.B.* xii. 362.

[4] On Sir Bernard de Gomme, the King's Dutch engineer, see *D.N.B.* xxii. 103.

[5] On Martin Beckman, the Swedish engineer, see *D.N.B.*, Suppl. i. 160. He was knighted in 1685.

if he had a work of consequence now to do, we should be forced to employ engineers of that nation, and that men of that profession might be trusted, for they make it their business to keep up the credit of their profession with all princes.

Examine Sir John Clayton's [1] assertion that Trinity House reported that there was no need of more lights upon the coasts of England, and yet they are now setting up one upon the island of Scilly.

By an Order of Council anno 1617,[2] after much debate and inquisition, the trust of erecting sea-marks is declared to be lodged in Trinity House, and they are pressed to the using all care and expedition in the setting up what should be necessary for the safety, not only of the King's subjects but (expressly) also of his friends and allies.

Improve an excellent letter writ by Sir A[nthony] D[eane] to my Lord Treasurer, communicating to him in October 1674 a true and naked state of the Navy of England, and comparing it very pressingly with that of Holland and France.[3]

The proclamation for preventing officers to take out new commissions and warrants upon the

[1] See note on p. 5 above.

[2] Order of February 14, 1617. The Trinity House had been already authorised by an Act of Parliament (8 Eliz. c. 13, 1566) to erect sea-marks, but at their own expense (C. R. B. Barrett, *The Trinity House*, p. 20).

[3] 'Sir Anthony Deane's observations relating to the state of his Majesty's fleet, Anno 1674: presented to my Lord Treasurer Danby' (*Pepysian MSS.*, Miscellanies, v. 49). This is abstracted in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 43–5.

Duke's laying down, was proposed by me in favour to them and prejudice to myself.[1]

Had not foreigners built as good ships as we, as well as cheaper, there would not have needed the Act for Navigation.[2] *Vide* the Act itself.

Mr. Selden's proclamation [3] shews us to be so far from being shy of our ports as to declare them sanctuaries to ships of all nations, to secure themselves against their enemies.

London has always been a great emporium, and therefore the road to it must have always been publicly known.

The course of the Spanish Plate-fleet in its return home from the Indies had been a secret much more worth the King of France's buying, and might have been communicated without breach of trust.

Examine my Journals of the Admiralty, *anno* 1675.[4]

Examine what letters of Cecil's, or any other of our celebrated Ministers of State, upon occasion of any sea affair.

[1] Proclamation of June 18, 1673 (R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, No. 3583). The Secretary of the Admiralty sacrificed fees to which he was entitled on the renewal of commissions.

[2] 12 Car. II, c. 18 (1660).

[3] In *Mare Clausum*, Bk. ii. c. 22, Selden quotes a proclamation of March 2, 1604[–5] 'appointing certain limits upon the English coasts within which there should be safe riding for all nations.' This is probably the proclamation of March 1 'for revocation of mariners from foreign service,' printed in T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 750–53.

[4] *Admiralty Journal*, 1674–79 (Pepysian MSS., No. 2865); see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv.

NEWMARKET [1]

The King puts me in mind of Sir George Askue [2] and several other English commanders employed in the Swedes' service.

And of Count Horn [3] in ours, who is now a considerable commander in Sweden; and also of Siblad.[4]

D[uke of] Y[ork] observed that Sir George Carteret was an able seaman, and about the year '51 or '52, after Jersey was lost, did go with the Duke de Vendosme as his vice-admiral, or some other good command, and did entrust him in the business of the navy, and was known to contribute most to the settling the navy of France, he having been Controller of ours here as well as a sea commander; and at that time did beat the Spaniards in the river of Bordeaux.[5]

That Richelieu had raised the naval force of France to a greater height in proportion than any prince at that time in Europe. But he dying and the civil wars of France following, the business of the sea fell, they having more occasion of attending to their land affairs; so as but two ships

[1] In April, and again in October, 1680 Pepys was at the Court at Newmarket.

[2] Sir George Ayscue was sent by Cromwell in 1658 to take the command of the Swedish fleet, and he remained in Sweden until the Restoration (*D.N.B.* ii. 299).

[3] Count Horn held a commission in the English navy, first as lieutenant and afterwards as captain, in the years 1671–73.

[4] Two naval officers, Eric and George Sieubladh, appear on Pepys's *Register* (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 405, 406).

[5] Carteret, as Governor of Jersey, held the island for the King until its surrender, December 12, 1651. He then joined the exiles in France, and obtained a command in the French navy under the Duke of Vendome.

of any consideration in their navy were left, and it would quite have fallen (it being not come to that perfect establishment in which now it is) had not Colbert,[1] who was bred to the business of trade, found it his interest to advance it, the better to live with Le Tellier[2] and his family, which greatened itself by their knowledge in land service. And if Colbert had died it would probably have declined again, though now it is come to such height as to be above the fear of a through-fall.[3]

That the French are now the people of the world that walk by the truest rules of good husbandry, for they are very liberal where it's requisite and as thrifty where it may be saved, and in that respect wiser than the Italians themselves. Which observation arose upon my noting to [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] and Mr. Legg,[4] then present, that the King of France kept his commanders and lieutenants constantly in pay. Upon which D. Y. said that however, considering the benefits our captains have, our service is better to commanders than the French. Whereupon Mr. Legg and I jointly asserted, and convinced the Duke, that it was better for the King to give his commanders half-a-crown out of his purse than to suffer them to get six pence that way, they managing his service wholly in order to their coming at a good time to Cales,[5] besides the dissatisfaction raised in twenty commanders by the benefit which is hereby indulged with partiality to one. But then D. Y. observed most truly that

[1] Jean Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's Minister of Finance and of Marine.

[2] François-Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois, Colbert's rival; he was Minister of War.

[3] 'Through' is here used in the sense of 'thorough.'

[4] See note on p. 28 above. [5] Cadiz.

this is never to be remedied till the gentry of England (who are the givers of money in Parliament) apply themselves more than they do to the understanding the business of the sea; for then they would encourage it. Which I illustrated by the instance of my own case, which could not have happened had our Parliament understood the contemptibleness and ridiculousness of the charge for which they were led to the sending me to the Tower.[1]

Whereto D. Y. added that it was the interest of an English Parliament to encourage the navy for the sake of their younger sons, who might be bred (early, said Legg and I) to the business thereof.

D. Y. and Legg both enlarge much upon the excellent discipline the French are arrived at in their navy, beyond what we can possibly have for want of a power to punish, arising from our want of wherewith to give a seaman a due reward, or even a subsistence, for the best of his performances.

D. Y. told me of Tobias, an Irishman, bred a lieutenant in a privateer under Spragg[2]; that he, after the King's coming in, offered his service with no higher demand than that of being a lieutenant of a ship. But Sir William Coventry[3] discouraging him, he went into Holland, where he was presently[4] entertained and had a command given him, and done them such service in the late wars as he expects a flag, and would have it,

[1] On this see J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, pp. 235–39.

[2] Sir Edward Spragge had commanded a French privateer after the death of Charles I. He was commissioned 'to cruise upon the Spaniard and English at the West Indies.' See *The First Dutch War*, i. 21.

[3] *D.N.B.* xii. 362.

[4] *I.e.* immediately.

he being mightily valued by them, but that the Prince of Orange (to make his court to England) will not permit it, he being a Papist, though the States never mind the business of religion. Upon which account Tobias is resolved to remove his estate (which is said to be very considerable) and go abroad into the Spanish service.

D. Y. says that Sir William Jennins[1] offered his service to France, but they would not entertain him, though a very old bred seaman. *Q.* more concerning this ; he having the King's pass to go abroad by a Secretary, I having declined to give him one from the Admiralty.

He told me how, in the low condition of France in its sea affairs, Kempthorne[2] had a great fight alone with two of their best ships till he had but 12 of his men alive. *Q.* more of that story in the Straits.

Examine our ship-books and discover what French names are to be found serving in our men-of-war or merchantmen.

Recollect the history of Dutel's[3] coming into our service.

Captain Wyborne[4] says our galley-frigates are and may be of great use ; only they want guns.

[1] Sir William Jennens actually entered the French navy after James II's abdication, and fought in the action off Beachy Head, June 30, 1690.

[2] On Sir John Kempthorne see *D.N.B.* xxx. 397, where, however, this particular exploit is not recorded.

[3] 'Sir' John Baptiste Duteil, a Frenchman, was commander of the galley at Leghorn. He is sometimes referred to as the 'Sieur Duteil,' and 'Sir' is probably a corruption of this, and not an English title.

[4] Captain John Wyborne was at this time (1680) in command of the Rupert.

He tells me of his being on board his commander, Captain R.,[1] when he commanded his boatswain in the Straits to beat a poor sailor before the ship's company for nothing but running against him as he was busy handing some ropes in haste upon the ship's business.

He observed to me how at his late changing ships with Vice-Admiral H.[2] in the Straits, H. left his company the greatest part sick, in his ship, one or two having for some time died out of it in a day. But when W[yborne] came to get the ship clean (which he found very nasty) and look after the men to get them fresh clothes, they grew all well, so that he buried but 4 or 5 in all his voyage home; the seamen blessing God for the change of their commander.

He says that we have very great number of seamen married in France, and that he has particularly observed it at Toulon and Marselia,[3] etc. That in one Dutch man-of-war of about three-score guns he found 52 Englishmen, which (according to practice) he demanded as our King's subjects from her captain, who was ready to deliver them up, but assured him that 30 or more of them were married men in Holland. Upon which he thought it reasonable to leave them, and took away only the remainder, which (as he remembers) were not above 16 or 20.

I asking [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] his opinion upon the point I have so much considered, what in truth it is that we have particularly to value

[1] Probably Captain Charles Royden, the only officer under R. in Pepys's *Register* who was turned out by a court-martial (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 400).

[2] Vice-Admiral Arthur Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington.

[3] Marseilles.

ourselves upon before our neighbours in relation to the sea ; he replied that in the first place we have really a more general valour in our common seamen than the French have, though their commanders and officers upon argument of honour and interest are as brave as men can be ; that he believes we have more seamen than the French. In which I seeming to differ from him, he referred me to the comparing the marine trade of France and ours, taking it for granted that ours much exceeded theirs, and seemed principally to infer our great stock of seamen from our being able to man our fleet and carry on our trade during the last war together.

He added that he did not look upon the ships of war of France to be really so good sailers as ours.

That the Dutch have very few seamen of their own country in proportion either to France or us, but are forced to man their ships, both of war and trade, with other nations.

That the English seamen will do more bodily labour on their ships than the common seamen either of Holland or France, as being better fed and really stronger.

That the Dutch ports will not suffer them to build bigger ships than they have.

That in case of a war with France we shall be driven wholly to give over trade; they will be able so to infest us with privateers near home, and command all in the Straits, forasmuch as by having no ports of our own there, it will be impossible for us to bear the charge of maintaining

fleets there able to answer the force of France in that sea at their own ports.

That our situation proper to command all trades going through our seas to and from the northern parts of the world, and the plenty and quality of our ports, are the principal real advantages above our neighbours.

And that France and we may do one another very much hurt by a war, but that neither of us can hope to do themselves good by it at sea.

That the discipline among the French seamen and officers is extraordinary great compared with ours, which ought to be rectified by better payment and then stricter command.

That France is seldom at any time, or has been, without one or two strangers Marshals of France, as being the readiest nation in the world to do honour to a nation that deserve well of them.

That Toulon is a most excellent port for capacity, and yet by its fortification very safe; large and open ports being generally liable to the inconvenience of being unsafe. But as convenient as Toulon is, ships must come out to take in their guns.

May not one have a pilot in foreign parts to any port in England as well as we have here to any port abroad? And are there not Houses abroad answerable to our Trinity House?

Recollect my personal pains in bringing about the encouraging of our English pilots by setting their rates, the number of our pilots being become very low.

See whether the present French *Routier* has nothing of Proud's additional Rutter.[1]

Enquire out Captain Darcy's brother that was lately with me, in order to the knowing the proceedings at Mount H.

Speak with Mr. Cordall about Lord Sandwich's draught of Portsmouth Harbour.[2]

Several of our Great Officers of State have their standing Secretaries, appointed, established, and paid by the King. *Q.* which. And why should not the Admiral ? The want whereof, and a standing office for the Admiral's Secretary,[3] is it that to this day has kept the business of the Navy in England under so great disorder in the method of it. And yet in the side of the Court of Admiralty the officers are all fixt and permanent.

Examine the several histories of the maritime counties of England for the accounts of our several sea-forts and castles.

Read the histories of the ministries of the two last Cardinals in reference to the sea-affairs of France, and what may be found thereof in any printed accounts of the present King and Monsieur Colbert.

The ordinary way in all times in England, upon want of money and disquiets in government,

[1] Richard Proude published in 1541 *A newe Rutter of the Sea for the North Parties*, and this was added to Robert Copland's translation (1550 ?) of the 'Routier de la Mer.' See note on p. 8 above. It was probably this, or a later edition, that Pepys had by him, and not the original of 1541.

[2] On the Earl of Sandwich's skill as a draughtsman see Pepys's *Private Correspondence*, ii. 111.

[3] Such as was provided in 1684 when Pepys was appointed to the office of Secretary of the Admiralty by Letters Patent under the Great Seal.

to find faults with the management of expensefulness of the Navy, determining generally in some insignificant retrenchments of charge for the better rectifying their complaints; but to the real disservice of the State, the retrenchments having [been] always such as have been afterwards found necessary to be revoked, with increase. Witness that in King James's time, and particularly the retrenching of the office of Vice-Admiral of England, etc., instituted by Queen Elizabeth. And this has ever arisen and will ever be, while the Ministers of State and the gentry of England (who only feel the charge of their Navy) apply themselves so little to the understanding the true weight, expense, and methods of its ill or well government, and necessity and ways of rightly encouraging and correcting it.

Examine my Lord of Sandwich's authority for the concert he with others on behalf of our King entered into with France for the union of our fleets the last war.

Examine the epistle or preface before the Latin edition of Waggener,[1] in reference to the encouragement given by Queen Elizabeth and her Council for the publishing of that book.

Enquire after any mistakes or ignorance in our ancient Ministers of State in reference to our sea affairs, and what (if anything) is to be found of theirs that was really wise in their proceedings therein.

Observe Edgar's Great Seal of a ship.

Compute what my profits upon renewing[2] all the commissions and warrants in the Navy would

[1] A copy of this edition is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2799].
[2] This word is corrected in Pepys's own hand.

have amounted to, for they were all void upon the Duke's laying down his Admiralship; which profits I voluntarily proposed my being prevented of (for the ease of the poor navy officers) by a proclamation.[1] And this though the King himself was afterwards to sign all commissions and warrants, whose hand was never before in any age or office made so cheap as to be issued for nothing. *Q.* through all offices where his hand is used, and particularly for military commissions since his taking the execution of the Generalship of his Land-forces into his own hands upon the death of the Duke of Albemarle,[2] and what is done upon grants of office or otherwise under the King's hand relating to the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports since the Duke's laying down that also.

Enquire at the Trinity House the particulars following:

1.—What naval lectures have at any time been or now are, either of Drake's institutions or Gresham [3] or any other?

2.—Who was Matthew Baker the shipwright [4] mentioned in some of my *Sea-Tracts*,[5] from whence I have raised most of the rest of these quaeries?

3.—What they have heard and do say of the Sea-Rutter?

4.—Ditto of Richard Proud's new Rutter, 1541?[6]

[1] See p. 31 above. [2] January 3, 1670.

[3] Sir Thomas Gresham (*d.* 1579), the founder of Gresham College.

[4] Appointed one of the three master-shipwrights to Queen Elizabeth in 1572.

[5] These are in the Pepysian Library. [6] See p. 39 above.

5.—Ditto of William Barlow ? [1]

6.—Ditto of Stephen Burrowes ? [2]

7.—Ditto the meaning of the Prast Isle of Pickory I meet with in one of the tracts ? [3]

8.—The rise of the name of Trinity House, whether foreign or no, and what there is abroad which resembleth that institution ?

Consult for any maritime antiquities relating to our Navy our Heralds, Dr. Brady,[4] Auditors of the Exchequer, Mr. Townesend of the Wardrobe.

Get Gascoin the plat-maker to compare the original and latter Waggeners with Anthony Ashley's [5] and Seller's [6] new maps.

Consult Gresham College, Sir William Petty, and Mr. Houblon for the history of the double-bottomed vessel.[7]

October the 16th, 1680. Mr. Goldsbrough [8] this day owns to me his remembering very particularly my delivering my papers of the state of the

[1] The Pepysian Library contains, in the first volume of Pepys's *Sea-Tracts* (p. 613), a pamphlet of 1597 by William Barlow, entitled *The Navigator's Supply*.

[2] Stephen Borough the navigator was Chief Pilot of England from 1563 until his death in 1584.

[3] An attempt to trace this reference in Pepys's *Sea-Tracts* (see note on p. 220 below) has not been successful. 'Prast Isle' might be a corruption of Presqu'île, and Pechora Bay, on the coast of Archangel, answers this description.

[4] Probably Dr. Robert Brady, Master of Caius, the historian and physician, who was at one time Keeper of the Records in the Tower.

[5] Sir Anthony Ashley's *Mariner's Mirrour*, 1588; see note on p. 19 above.

[6] See note on p. 11 above.

[7] See note on p. 23 above.

[8] William Goldesbrough, Clerk to the House of Commons.

Navy [1] to the House, and Mr. Secretary Coventry's first moving the House that they might not be exposed to public view but committed to a particular Committee, which they refused and would have them to the whole House, which they were ; and that Mr. Secheverell [2] particularly had copies of them all, and that with my Report there were other papers and books accompanied them, and particularly a large thin folio, signed by Sir John Tippets [3] and other Officers of the Navy, containing a particular state of all our stores and ships; none of which papers and books nor Report he can find upon several searches by him strictly made to that purpose, but supposes and believes upon the best of his memory that they were delivered from him to some Committee from whence he never had them again. And has found that there have been many copies of them taken abroad.

He well remembers also Harboard's [4] moving and being denied by the House that the business of the Navy should be referred to a secret Committee and to a few ; and declares it to be irregular the adjourning of Committees into the City, as they did in my case privately, when other members thereof, and by name Sir John Talbott,[5] were at the usual place of meeting and were disappointed. He remembers that upon my observing to the House the coffee-house-papers of their votes for

[1] Probably the papers presented to the Commons on Saturday, April 24, 1675 (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 46).

[2] William Sacheverell took a leading part in the debates on the state of the navy in 1675.

[3] Surveyor of the Navy.

[4] Mr. William Harbord was chairman of the Committee of the Commons which formulated the charges against Pepys and Deane in 1679.

[5] Probably Sir John Talbot of Lacock, Wilts.

the fleet against France,[1] that it was ruled that nothing ought to be published while under debate, but after being voted every subject has a right to see it, and may claim the same of him and copies of them, paying the fees ; and he neither does nor dares deny it whenever demanded.

Recollect Monson's advice against invasions.

Ditto what strange pilotages the King pays for.

See Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s instructions from the King or me at his going into France.[2]

Search contrary instances in the very times we most pretend to our dominion and power at sea.

Examine the records in King Edward the 3rd's time about setting up poles upon the sea-coasts, and compare it with the history of that time. *Q.* whether it was not in time of war, and then the design of this was to escape from their enemies. And in time of peace the King[3] says, and Mr. Gibson[4] takes that to be the meaning of it, the poles might be spared, as not being then needful, we having time enough to sound, and it might instruct the enemies too much in case the poles should remain standing in time of peace.

Why did we take up our buoys in time of war but because our enemies knew our marks as well as we, and there was an embargo upon trade, and our fleets of war had small vessels to guide them over the sands ? And why were they laid down again after the war but because our merchant-ships could not sail in and out without them ?

[1] Probably the votes of February 1678.

[2] In August 1675, to deliver two yachts, built for Louis XIV by command of Charles II.

[3] Charles II.

[4] See note on p. 23 above.

Even King Richard the 2nd begins his reign with complaints of our sea-coasts not being guarded in his predecessor's time.

And so far do we seem unprovided with naval strength to trouble our neighbours, that the universal complaint in all ages has been that our own coasts were not guarded.

And what else mean so many laws for Lords and others who were owners of lands near the sea-coasts to reside at home ? And the people who had had pardon from the King should serve there against invasions, as if all our strength lay in our castles on shore, and our safety in the guarding of our coasts.

And the seamen in our ships little better than slaves to the soldiers therein. Mr. Gibson's note.

QUESTIONS FOR THE HERALDS

1.—Whether any foreigners are to be found in our list of English Admirals ?

2.—The reason or account to be given of the place assigned to our Admirals in the Act of Precedence.[1]

3.—Whether any of the considerable families of our nobility or gentry have been raised by the sea ?

4.—Some instances of the greatest ransoms heretofore set upon prisoners of greatest quality.

[1] See note on p. 1 above.

5.—The descent and posterity of Sir Francis Drake, and what estate is now in the possession of any of his family derived from him.[1]

6.—Who Sir Anthony Ashley was.[2]

7.—What are and have been generally the professions, trades, or qualifications, civil or military, that have and do generally raise families in England to wealth and honour in Church and State?

What needed the proclamations heretofore against foreigners fighting in our seas and coming into our Chambers? [3]

English shipwrights sent heretofore abroad, as Sir A[nthony] D[eane] informs me, viz: John Roberts to Denmark, 1637; Thomas Day, ditto; Francis Sheldon, Sweden.

Memorandum, that this Day was foreman at the building the Fairfax at Deptford.[4]

Samuel Ravens, Mr. Christopher Pett master-shipwright his assistant at Woolwich in the year 1660, having left the King's service at his Majesty's first coming-in, spent a year afterwards here as a private builder, and then went over in discontent, *anno* 1662, to Holland, living privately; and there in the year 1665 advised the Dutch to the building

[1] Drake left no children, and his considerable property went to his only surviving brother Thomas.

[2] See note on p. 19 above.

[3] The bays along the English coast were called chambers, and the Admiralty jurisdiction extended over them. The limits of this jurisdiction over the 'King's Chambers' had been defined by James I.

[4] The Fairfax had been built at Deptford in 1649 by Peter Pett, senior. She was a 3rd-rate.

of 36 great ships, which were despatched, either all or very near the whole number, and he came out to sea along with them in 1666, where he was shot, and died just as he came back again on shore in Holland. The Dutch gave his wife 500*l.* He was a great Independent. In 1666 he advised the Dutch to come after us while we were refitting our fleet in Chatham river.

Anthony Ashley in his book[1] owns that our discoveries and great doings at sea were but of late.

Q[*uaere*] did Christ's Hospital never give me thanks, and desire and refer several things to me; and what and when.

And read over my papers [relating] to that Hospital.[2]

Who was it that took my speech in Parliament and gave Mr. Hayes a copy of it? I think it was Sir Edward (or Sir Robert) Harloe.[3]

Buy or read *Le Parfait Negotiant*,[4] which Mr. Win Houblon[5] has, and particularly the chapter of early discoveries made in the West Indies, etc., by the French before other nations. And get Mr. Parry to repeat something which (as I remember) he has in discourse said to me on that subject.

[1] See note on p. 19 above.

[2] Pepysian MS. No. 2612 is *A Collection of matters relating to Christ's Hospital.*

[3] Sir Edward Harley sat in all the Parliaments of Charles II's reign, either for Radnor or for the County of Hereford. The speech referred to was probably that of February 1677. The name 'Harley' is often spelt 'Harlow' or 'Harlowe,' but the variation in the text is not common.

[4] A copy of this work is in the Pepysian Library.

[5] Wynne Houblon was the eldest son of Pepys's friend James, afterwards Sir James, Houblon.

Recollect the story of Phillpot,[1] the citizen of London, in King Richard the 2nd's time; a private, understanding, and interested man did more against the pirates of that age than the King himself or any of the Lords would do, and how he was prosecuted for it.

The new History of Richard the 2nd [2] tells in how ill a condition we were at sea from the French at the end of Edward the 3rd, and of the French's coming into our very ports. And in Richard the 2nd's time moneys given for public use were taken by the Duke of Lancaster, by which means the sea became neglected till Phillpott (as before) scoured it at his own charge.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] tells me that Prince Rupert's printed complaint against the Navy [3] speaks something fit to be observed about fireships.

The Dutch have always had as much reason to fear the growth of France at sea as we (see Mr. Joseph Hill's book [4]), and yet they have sold him ships of war, and without their ships France would not be by a great deal [5] so strong at sea as it is; and so it appears that Holland neither feared the discovering their skill of building nor apprehended the growth of France at sea.

[1] Sir John Philipot, when the Isle of Wight was seized and Hastings burned by the French in 1377, fitted out a small squadron at his own expense, recaptured the prizes which had been taken, and took 15 Spanish ships as well. He was Lord Mayor of London 1378–79.

[2] Perhaps *The Life and Reign of Richard II, by a Person of Quality*, published in 1681.

[3] See Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, iii. 484.

[4] Probably *The Interest of these United Provinces, being a Defence of the Zeelanders' Choice*, published in 1673 by Joseph Hill, the lexicographer, who was at that time pastor of the Scottish Church at Middelbu g, Zeeland. See also note on p. 424 below.

[5] This word is inserted in Pepys's hand.

Q[*uaere*] whether France has ever used to buy merchant-ships of English built[1]; for as to men-of-war they have not, though they appear to have of most nations else.

The Spaniards in '88 made shift to go home round by Scotland, a very bad voyage and in very bad weather, and this before Waggener was printed.[2]

Observe Captain Jenifer's notes in his Journal,[3] both in the Epistle and at the end of the book.

Consider how some men's getting estates corruptly whilst in the Navy raises a mighty envy upon all, though never so honest, and it may be on such as expose themselves to inconveniences by their withstanding those corruptions; and this even while those who are guilty of the same escape without censure.

Remember the Duke of Albemarle's first undervaluing the Dutch,[4] and our ballads made in derogation of them.

The state of our Navy, as low as it seems to be, had never be[en] so considerable as it is, had I not been as much ground by Lords Treasurers out of Parliament for my labouring to make so much of it as I have afterwards in Parliament suffered for its being no greater.

France has as much as we of the Fishery in Newfoundland, if not more, in better order and

[1] See note on p. 18 above.

[2] See note on p. 12 above. This must mean 'printed in English'; the Dutch edition had appeared in 1584.

[3] Captain James Jenifer's Journal of his voyage to Lisbon and back, October 12, 1672, to June 1, 1673, is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2894].

[4] See p. 4 above.

more thriving. *Vide* our commanders' several reports thereof to me and to the Committee of Council.[1]

Collect how many things in the Navy are bettered or grown worse since Sir A. D. and my leaving it.

Ditto the neglect already found of the King's new Royal Foundation [2] of Christ's Hospital.

Memorandum in one of the Epistles in my second volume of Sea-Tracts,[3] that very good notice is taken of the illiterateness of our sea-masters.

Ditto. That the Sea-Rutter [4] printed in 1596 is said to be translated out of Dutch. Compare it with my Old Rutter,[5] and see what prints of the former are legible [6] in the latter, and then improve it to the shewing our remissness in sea-affairs that could forget the said former translation.

The *Gazette*, 14 February, 1680–1, No. 1591, speaks of ten ships then in building at Amsterdam by the States for the King of France.

Q[*uaere*] was Fournier's voyage about Scotland [7] ever printed in English.

[1] The Committee, Commission, or Council of Trade. The Board of Trade is still technically a Committee of the Council.

[2] For an account of the 'Mathematical School' established in Christ's Hospital by Letters Patent of Charles II dated August 19, 1673, see E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (2nd edition, 1908), pp. 99–134.

[3] In the Epistle to the Reader prefixed to *The Regiment for the Sea*, by Thomas Hood, 1596 (*Sea-Tracts*, ii. 523).

[4] See note on p. 23 above.

[5] See note on p. 228 below. [6] MS. 'ligible.'

[7] Georges Fournier the Jesuit was the author of several nautical works. His *Hydrographie : avec la Navigation du Roy d'Ecosse . . . autour de son Royaume . . .* was published in Paris in 1643, and a second edition appeared in 1667. Pepys had tried to buy a copy in 1668, but without success (*Diary*, January 10).

Monsieur Denise says that he accompanied Monsieur Seignelay [1] to visit all the King's offices and magazines at Portsmouth and Chatham, *anno* 1672.

Get a very good account of the virtues of Prince Rupert's invention of great guns.[2]

In all Parliaments it is notorious how far I made it my business in my speeches to provoke the Parliament to look into the business of the Navy,—witness Garwaye's often saying that I pressed them thereto only to turn them into ridicule, as I had done the Commissioners of Brooke House [3]; and so indeed they turned themselves into ridicule by shewing their own ignorance by pretending to find faults and yet never being able to prove any one thing blameable or disprove any one thing asserted by me.

Get Mr. Gibson to read over Captain Jenifer and Sir Richard Munden's Journals with me.[4]

Recollect the reports I have heretofore had, and may be further gathered, of the growth of the force and trade of France in New England, and their out-doing us in their methods there.

Trinity House did observe to me how the King did himself instance to them in the tides being set

[1] Jean Baptiste Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, was the son of the great Colbert. He was afterwards the French Minister of Marine.

[2] Prince Rupert gave much attention to the improvement of war material, especially guns and powder (*D.N.B.*).

[3] *I.e.* the Commissioners of Public Accounts; their office was at Brooke House, Holborn.

[4] On Mr. Richard Gibson see note on p. 23 above. Captain James Jenifer's Journal of his Lisbon voyage, 1672–73, and Sir Richard Munden's Journal relating to his retaking of St. Helena in 1673, are both in the Pepysian Library.

down false, and other defects, in our draughts about the Start.

Hugh Peters[1] did long ago say that there might be atheists in the Navy but never any Papists. Sir Richard Haddock[2] (I think) told me so.

Take notice of King Edward 6th his Journal[3] page 63, about Stukely.

Enquire what were the reasons of State given by King Henry 7th for his not embracing the proposition about America, but letting of it fall to the Spaniard. *Q.* was it not our ignorance at sea, he being a man covetous enough of money.

Take notice also that Cromwell did attempt it, and recollect that whole history and the occasion of its ill success.

Examine whether Mazarine left any advice to the young King his master relating to the sea, and what.

Observe how few tenures[4] are to be found in England by services relating to the sea saving the Cinque Ports, as also what our tenures[4] generally consist of.

No Order of Knighthood amongst us relating to the sea, nor any marks or badges of honour apper-

[1] On Hugh Peters the regicide, see *D.N.B.* xlv. 69.

[2] Admiral Richard Haddock had been knighted in 1675. From 1683–90 he was a Commissioner, and later Comptroller, of the Navy.

[3] Edward VI's Journal is printed in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. The reference is probably to the entry for September 16, 1552, relating to the report of Thomas Stukely the adventurer, about the French King's plan for invading England 'in an angle thereof about Falmouth.'

[4] MS. 'tenours.'

taining to it. *Q.* what Orders or marks of that kind are to be found anywhere abroad, and recollect Sir Robert Slingsbey's [1] proposal about a Sea-Knighthood.

Consider what proportion of burgesses in Parliament we have relating to sea-ports.

Examine what instances Mr. Selden [2] gives of the height of England's power at sea and in sea affairs whether ancient or modern, and look into the truth thereof.

Examine whether anything, and what, is mentioned in our Laws Martial relating to the asserting, defining, and supporting of our dominion at sea, the honour of our flag, and punishing of failures relating thereto.

And observe how this dominion at sea has been made use of principally by the Court and Parliament to press one another with, and by the City of London in their very Address presented to the King at the Council Board at Hampton Court, Thursday May the 19th,[3] in order to the urging him to comply with their desire of a Parliament.

See in our list of Admirals how few of them were ever seamen.

Observe many things worthy note relating to the sea in the Journal of King Edward the 6th,[4] viz. :

1.—A difficulty made by the Flemings, even in his time, of striking to our flag.[5]

[1] Sir Robert Slyngesbie, Comptroller of the Navy (1660).
[2] John Selden's *Mare Clausum* was published in 1635.
[3] 1681. [4] See note on p. 52 above.
[5] 'The Flemings men-of-war would have passed our ships without vailing bonnet; which they seeing, shot at them, and drove them at length to vail bonnet and so depart' (April 6, 1550).

2.—The Lord Clynton's mock-fight made before the King at Deptford.[1]

3.—Sea affairs always made a pretence for money: page 17th, July, in King Edward's Journal.[2]

4.—The great ado made now to stop the Lady Mary's being carried out of England.[3] Examine 2 or 3 pages about it.

5.—*Q.* what is meant by appointing the limits between us and the French King.

The little proportion assigned to the Navy in that King's time of the French money.[4] The same repeated one or two pages after.

6.—What use can be made of our scruple to let the Queen of Scots[5] come back through England, when they gave her leave to pass through it outwards with a small number.

7.—The land-soldier proved to be our only favourite by the exception made only in behalf of the Captains of Bollen.[6]

[1] This was the representation of a naval action upon the Thames on the occasion of the King's visit to Lord Clinton, then Lord High Admiral, on June 19, 1550.

[2] 'It was appointed that under the shadow of preparing for the sea-matters, there should be sent 5000*l.* to the Protestants to get their good will' (July 12, 1550).

[3] The Emperor Charles V was trying to arrange for Mary Tudor to escape to Antwerp, and preparations were made to intercept her. The references in Edward VI's Journal are July 13, 27, August 14, 1550; June 20, August 29, 1551.

[4] Out of the money paid by France on the surrender of Boulogne, £10,000 was assigned to Calais, £10,000 to the North, £8000 to Ireland, and only £2000 to the Admiralty (August 7, 1550).

[5] Mary of Guise, the mother of Mary Queen of Scots.

[6] Boulogne.

8.—Some of the band of horsemen divided among the nobles, allotted to the Admiral.[1]

9.—Page 22. Four ships and [2] sent to Ireland, and three to the Narrow Seas.

10.—In all that King's reign great care taken to fortify our coasts here, and abroad in France and Ireland. Page 22.[3]

11.—Page 21 and 22. The fishing of the Tweed yielded to the Scots at the request of France.[4]

12.—Defence of the kingdom made one of the pretences for debasing our money.[5]

13.—Page 28. Bringing all our ships out of Gellingham Water to meet [6] Sciperus, and shewed our force to some Frenchmen.[7]

14.—Ships set out to meet the Flemings. They all strike to a brigantine of ours at Diep, and the French Ambassador calls this sea our stream.[8] Page 29.

[1] See entry for December 20, 1550.

[2] See January 7 and 10, 1551. The words missing should be '4 barques, 4 pinnaces, and 12 victuallers.'

[3] See February 3 and March 10, 1551; July 30, 1552.

[4] See January 27, 1551.

[5] See the entry for June 18, 1551.

[6] MS. 'make.'

[7] 'Upon advertisement of Scipperus coming, . . . also for to show the Frenchmen pleasure at their coming, all the Navy that lay in Gillingham-water was appointed to be rigged and furnished with ordnance and lay in the River of Thames, to the intent that if Scipperus came afterward he might be met with, and at least the Frenchmen should see the force of my Navy' (June 20, 1551). Scepper (Scipperus) was a member of the Emperor's Council sent to arrange for the escape of Mary Tudor to the Continent.

[8] See entries of July 1 and 2, 1551.

15.—The model of Portsmouth to be considered because a Frenchman has seen it with an engineer.[1]

Our laws very imperfect for the preserving of ship-timber. *Q.*

Tysius his account in Latin of the ancient and modern sea-fights of the Dutch.[2]

Look over the preface to Corteen's case[3] printed by Mr. Carew.

Captain Jenifer says that he found an Englishman at Lisbon building some good ships like our Leopard.[4] Read over both the Epistle to the King and his whole Journal, especially what concerns the Portugal Navy.

Examine French terms taken into our English sea-service, like their Church-tunes to our singing psalms, demonstrating their seniority to us.

Observe that there has been more prosecutions in my time upon strangers, and particularly the French, for declining to give honour to our flag than in any time before. And *quaere* in what years in my time, and what within man's memory before; looking up our proceedings herein in my time, and the King's forgiving the sentences.

[1] 'The Captain of Portsmouth had word and commandment to bring the model of the castle and place to the intent it might be fortified, because Baron de la Gard had seen it, having an engineer with him, and as it was thought had the plot of it' (November 26, 1551).

[2] *Historia Navalis Hollandiae*, published in 1657 by Antony Thysius, Professor of Poetry and Eloquence at Leyden.

[3] On the case of Sir William Courten the merchant (1572–1636), see *D.N.B.* xii. 333. George Carew was his partner and the administrator of his estates.

[4] The Leopard was a 4th-rate built at Deptford in 1659 by Mr. Jonas Shish. On Captain Jenifer's Journal see p. 51 above.

Observe from my old manuscripts of Sea-Collections [1] that the business of the flag was no part of the enquiries anciently in the Courts of Admiralty.

Observe how my exactness to bring the King's business well carried-on, even to the offence of his great Ministers, and particularly his Lords Treasurers, has never let me dare to solicit them in my own business. Witness many papers of representation of the state and wants of the Navy, and their offences thereat.

I was the first that took the pains to bring the victualling-contract to what it now is, and provided instructions to be added to the patent of the Controller of the Victualling, and the like to the Controller of the Stores [2] and Treasurer of the Navy and other Commissioners. And observe how easily the same have been destroyed, and particularly by the Order of Council got by the Treasurer for the vacating of all or part of his. *Q.* which.

I first brought the establishment for men and guns for the whole fleet to be adjusted between the Officers of the Navy and Ordnance and chief officers of the fleet, and upon solemn hearing before the King and Lords of the Admiralty, and the measures thereof debated, signed by the King and the Lords, and so settled.[3]

[1] Vols. iv. and ix. of Pepys's *Miscellanies* (Pepysian MSS., Nos. 2872 and 2877) relate to the Admiralty and to the history of the flag.

[2] No Comptroller of the Stores was appointed until 1671, so Pepys is probably referring to the improved contract of December 31, 1677, for the drafting of which he was largely responsible, and not to his tenure of the office of Surveyor-General of Victualling in 1665–67.

[3] See *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 233. The establishment was approved by the King and Lords of the Admiralty on November 3, 1677.

[*Quaere*] instances of inconveniences which states have suffered by taking to themselves great titles and pretensions beyond what they could maintain, as possibly the Dominion of the Sea may one day prove to us.

Examine what may be believed for truth either for or against the presumptuous claims of King Edgar and King John to Sea-Dominion.[1]

Ancient naval force in the world may not be improperly judged by what appears of magnitude or meanness of their ports or moles at this day. *Q.* my landlord Wheeler, etc.

Captain Browne at the Trinity House, looking upon Anthony Ashley's [2] sea-draught, and particularly our sand-draught, said that it was nothing at all like the truth.

Read over all the collections of our patents entered in the Trinity-House-Book; and get a copy of Henry the 8th's first patent and the by-laws annexed thereto.[3]

Examine Ogilby's account of the naval trophies made use of upon the triumphal arches of our King's Coronation.[4]

Collect the printed advertisements given by the Trinity House of their sea-marks, and particu-

[1] On Edgar's charter of 964 and John's ordinance of 1201 see T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea* (1911), Introduction and p. 27.

[2] See note on p. 19 above.

[3] Vol. i. of Pepys's *Miscellanies* contains a transcript of Henry VIII's charter to the Trinity House, 'with the first Acts and Ordinances made therein' (Pepysian MSS., No. 2869).

[4] John Ogilby, the author and printer, was entrusted with the 'poetical part' of Charles II's Coronation, which included the triumphal arches. In 1661 he published a short account of the Coronation, followed in 1662 by the famous folio volume giving a fuller description.

larly that at the taking up and laying down of the buoys upon the business of the Dutch, and recover what passed about the sunken rock near Plymouth[1] and the marks set therein.

The Trinity House do generally say that without the marks and buoys, our own countrymen the best experienced could not with any security go in or out of the river of Thames.

Recollect the business of the petition for buoying-out of the river of Ipswich entered in my *Admiralty Journal*, February 2, 1673–4.[2]

Consider the imperfect characters of a seaman given by Dr. Fuller[3] or any other.

Dr. Chamberlaine in his *State of England* says that Queen Elizabeth had at a particular time in her reign but 13 ships.[4]

Dr. Exton,[5] in the first chapter of his book, names two or three Admirals that Spelman[6] does not, and seem to be foreign names; and it is observable that their commissions principally concern the coasts and ports, as if their chief charge were only to guard them, and so he seems

[1] This is referred to in the *Admiralty Journal* under date October 24, 1674.

[2] *Ib.*, February 14, 1673–74; Pepys appears to have written the wrong date.

[3] The reference is evidently to Thomas Fuller, the author of *The History of the Worthies of England.*

[4] Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia* (edition of 1687), part ii. p. 158. This work, with the alternative title, 'The Present State of England,' was first published in 1669. Its author was an LL.D. of Cambridge and a D.C.L. of Oxford.

[5] John Exton, LL.D., admiralty lawyer, the author of *The Maritime Dicaeologie, or Sea Jurisdiction of England*, 1664.

[6] Among the posthumous papers of Sir Henry Spelman, the historian and antiquary (*d.* 1641), are two discourses 'Of the Admiral-jurisdiction and the Officers thereof.' These were included in *Reliquiae Spelmanniae*, edited by Bishop Gibson in 1695.

to say by comparing them with the charge of the governors on land. And this he particularly does in the Admiral Aguillan,[1] where the coasts are named and the particular people thereof obliged to attend him.

The French as well as other strangers pay to our lights everywhere upon our coasts.

Recollect King Henry 8's first establishment of the Royal Navy.

Q[uaere] what the Grand Pilot of the Black Deeps in the Queen's time, mentioned in the great Commission of Enquiry (as I take it, or one of Sir William Penn's papers), at 20*l.* a year, was to Gabott's office.[2]

Q[uaere] what tombs or monuments of any considerable seamen are extant either in Westminster Abbey or elsewhere in England.

My Lady Peterbrough (as being related) tells me the whole story of my Lord of Nottingham's estate:[3] how he raised a good estate and left

[1] In the 9th year of Henry III's reign 'Richardus Aguillan constitutus fuit custos marinae reg. Norfolcae, Suffolcae, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis: sc. Erewell, Oreford, Dunwitch, Grenmouth, et Linn' (Exton, p. 7).

[2] There was a 'ground pilot of the Black Deeps' (Historical MSS. Commission *Sixth Report*, p. 303), and 'Grand Pilot' must be a mistake for this. Hakluyt's statement that Sebastian Cabot the cosmographer was appointed Grand Pilot of England appears to be an error. The commission of enquiry referred to is probably that of 1618.

[3] Charles Howard, first Earl of Nottingham, was Lord High Admiral from 1585 to 1618. The story in the text is rather misleading, as Nottingham had two sons by his first wife, one of whom succeeded to the peerage on his father's death in 1624; but as he died without male issue in 1642 the earldom passed to the son of 'the young Scotchwoman,' Charles, who died in 1681. Nottingham's granddaughter married John Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, and she was 'my Lady Peterbrough'—hence the relationship.

it to his daughter by his first wife, and nothing to his son by his second, who was a young Scotch woman, cousin to King James, so young as to suspect the son's being his own, and therefore left him to be provided for by the King. Which son therefore succeeding to the honour, the best part of his and his successor's support was a pension of 1200*l.* a year out of the Exchequer; the last Lord who lately died having a pension (as I take it) but of 600*l.* per annum, procured by my Lady Peterbrough or her Lord. *Q.* more of this story from my Lord Peterbrough.

What rewards appear in history to have been given by the Crown to any persons for sea-service equal to those in every age given for land-service?

Q[*uaere*] the arms of the several sea-corporations, and when they were incorporated.

How ridiculous would it be to us to hear that the Dutch or French should punish a man for discovering their ports to us, while they print all and make us pay for their marks to bring us in.

Where have we any sports (but what was made at Deptford to King Edward the 6th),[1] or any jousts[2] or any ceremonies relating to the sea like that of them, or any instances of great fortunes by marriage obtained from the credit of martial performances at sea like that at land?

And collect instances of each of this kind from foreign practice.

Are the Articles of Inquisition at Queensbrough mentioned by Dr. Exton to be now seen? and

[1] See note on p. 54 above. [2] MS. 'justs.'

examine the Black Book of the Admiralty[1] for any there, and whether anything be mentioned therein of enquiry touching the flag?

Have any of our Heralds allowed in express words the seaman for a gentleman?

Or has our Admiral ever had any place assigned to him as Admiral in public processions or elsewhere before the Statute of Henry 8th?[2]

Observe the maliciousness of our English proverb towards the service of the sea, viz. That the sea and the gallows refused nobody. Which is verified too much in our practice of sending none thither but the vicious or poor.

And where a merchant or seaman gets an estate, he either out of pride or some other less satisfactory reason seldom brings up a son to his own trade, but advances him to the Law, the Court, the University, or disposes of him some otherwise than to the sea; whereas you shall have lawyers and gownmen of all sorts, soldiers and courtiers, continue their trades from father to son for many generations, seldom assigning any to the sea but in the cases above mentioned. And it was the Rebellion and necessity that made seamen of the King and Duke.

How far are the Laws of Oleron[3] to be challenged by us, and the true use thereof?

[1] Vol. iii. of Pepys's *Miscellanies* contains a copy of an Inquisition taken at Queenborough April 2, 1375, touching the ancient customs of the Admiralty; and in vol. iv. there is a transcript of the Black Book (Pepysian MSS., Nos. 2871 and 2872).

[2] See note on p. 1 above.

[3] These are contained in the Black Book of the Admiralty. On Pepys's own copy of them see *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, part i. p. 2.

Few coats of arms made up of sea-matters but all of land, and that not only military but even to the hunter's horn and instruments of sports.

Were there any seamen among the first set of Knights of King Edward the 3rd upon his institution of the Garter; he being reputed a great warrior and advancer of our force at sea? *Vide* his Life, and List of Knights in Mr. Ashmole's book.[1]

What seamen are mentioned in Fuller's Worthies,[2] Baker's History,[3] or any other author who gives an account of the eminent men of England, or Mr. Cooke's favourites of Queen Elizabeth;[4] but on the contrary how are all the lists swelled with soldiers, churchmen, lawyers, and idle courtiers.

Fuller makes his observations of seamen's names in his Book of Worthies to[5] commence with King Edward the 3rd, giving his reasons for so doing.[6]

Van Nort, the circumnavigator about the world, did make use of one Mellesh an Englishman for his pilot; he having been that voyage before with Candish.[7]

[1] Elias Ashmole the antiquary published in 1672 *Institutions, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter*; it was his principal work.

[2] See p. 59 above.

[3] Probably Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1643).

[4] *Cf.* pp. 86, 88 below.

[5] MS. 'doe.'

[6] 'We begin our catalogue of seamen in the reign of King Edward III, before which time there were many good seamen in England but few good English seamen, our King using mariners of the Hanse towns' (*The Worthies of England*, edition of 1672, ch. viii. p. 22).

[7] See *Description du pénible voyage . . . par Olivier du Nort d'Utrecht*, 1598–1601. His English pilot, who had sailed with Candish, appears in the French account as 'Molis.'

Candish coming home after the fight in '88, tells my Lord Hundsden by a letter (extant in Hackluyt[1] or Purchas) of his having found out St. Helena in his way home, giving a description of it, and saying that the Portuguezes used to refresh there. This is a note of Dr. Fuller's.

Pyrard[2] has an excellent note of the ill effects of the Portuguezes' general practice of making men of quality their commanders at sea, with many useful observations about their ships, and their soldiers therein being reputed in quality above the seamen. *Vide* under the words *Portuguez* and *Navires.*

Enquire what our pay has heretofore differed between the soldier and the seaman at sea, and what proportion they at this day bear to one another, viz. a land-soldier and a seaman.

It was in Henry the 8th's time and not sooner that the seamen of England ever obtained or were thought either worthy or necessary to be incorporated, whilst other little trades were corporated ages before ; and how small their privileges are, comparable to the privileges of other corporations.[3]

Captain Francis Wiltshaw [4] complains much of the ill usage which sea-commanders had in the last two wars upon the score of their prizes, neither themselves nor the seamen (saving what at last

[1] The letter referred to, written by Thomas Cavendish (or Candish) to Lord Hunsdon, and dated September 9, 1588, is printed in Hakluyt's *Voyages* (' Everyman ' Edition), viii. 278.

[2] See note on p. 8 above.

[3] MS. ' comparable to the privileges and other corporations of.'

[4] There were two Captain Willshaws, Francis and Thomas. Of these the latter was the more distinguished, as in 1690 he was appointed Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth and in 1693 comptroller of the storekeepers' accounts. In 1700 he was elected Master of the Trinity House.

they got upon making it over to the Chest [1]) being the better for them, while several of the prize-officers on shore, who never ventured anything for them, made shift to get their coaches and 6 horses.

He also takes notice to me of my Lord Sandwich's [2] being blamed for coming in with his fleet, when upon survey he had but 3 days victuals through the whole fleet for 32,000 men ; and no certainty neither, either what he should be able to find ready when he came in, or in what time he should be able to get it on board, or with what safety by reason of the then plague, from whence he concludes with me how unhappy seamen are in our government while liable to such usage from the ignorance of landmen.

The printed paper of Trinity House upon Trinity Monday, 1681, concerning their public services and charities, declares their lights and buoys to be designed for the security of strangers as well as for ourselves.

Observable, that the smallest wages given by the Crown in the time of King Edward the 3rd to any sort of people borne upon the King's books was to the seamen,[3] his very fiddlers having 4 times as much, and that the seaman's wages remains the same upon the King's books from that to King Edward the 6th, though others (I believe) would be found to have been advanced.

[1] At Chatham.

[2] This refers to August 1665. The point is missed in the *D.N.B.*, but the *Life of the Earl of Sandwich*, by Mr. F. R. Harris (i. 338), does justice to his want of provisions.

[3] Written ' sending ' by the copyist, but corrected in Pepys's own hand.

Nothing remarkable gained by us at sea in all the time of that famous warrior King Edward the 3rd, but much mischief done us at sea by the French to the very last of his reign. *Vide* his Life in Ashmole.[1]

Examine the first particular in my first volume of the *Admiralty Journals* [2] about two Englishmen to be allowed to each stranger's ship employed by the King's subjects during the war by having them inserted in their protections.[3]

An unreasonable hardship of the general practice of our Navy of paying those ships off first where the least sum clears the most men ; those who have served longest, and therefore need their pay most, being postponed to those who have served least.

We have no record of any Admiral, either in Spelman [4] or Exton,[5] so far back as King John, from whom we derived our first pretence for salutation to our flag only.[6] See the History of King Edgar for what Spelman in his Preface to his List of Admirals slightly mentions [of] one Martutius,[7] that King's Admiral and his *Tetrarches* ; and observe how slightly Spelman speaks in the same place touching the quality of our first Admirals ; and consider also how little their quality and education suit with the nature of the jurisdiction pleaded for in their behalf by Exton.

[1] See note on p. 63 above.

[2] See minute of January 3, 1673–74, in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal*, p. 1.

[3] On the system of protections against pressing, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. ii. p. xxii.

[4] See note 6 on p. 59 above.

[5] See note 5 on p. 59 above.

[6] See p. 58 above.

[7] See p. 106 below.

Observe from Exton not only that the Admirals' commissions did of old generally respect the coasts only and the ports, but that they are expressly made Admirals of the ships of the Cinque Ports and others, without any mention of ships of the King's.

Consult very well Morisotus,[1] both his Epistle and Book, and particularly about our pretended Dominion.

How comes it to pass that none of our kings, either before or since King John, ever made so formal a decree as he about a flag?

More notes out of the Journal of King Edward the 6th[2]:

PAGE

47. Jesus of Lubeck.[3]

48. The Faulcon to a Fleming.[4] Four ships sent to sea for defence of the merchants.[5]

49. Dudley sent with 4 ships ditto.[6]

50. Regent's desire of our ports for her fleet.[7]

[1] Claude Barthélemy Morisot, *Orbis Maritimi sive rerum in mari et littoribus gestarum generalis historia*, published at Dijon in 1643, with an epistle of dedication to Louis XIII. There is a copy in the Pepysian Library [No. 2446].

[2] See note on p. 52 above.

[3] See the entry in the Journal of February 14, 1552.

[4] 'A Fleming would have searched the Falcon for Frenchmen; the Falcon turned, shot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him' (February 29).

[5] 'Order was given for defence of the merchants, to send four barques and two pinnaces to the sea' (March 3).

[6] 'Henry Dudley was sent to the sea with four ships and two barques for defence of the merchants, which were daily before robbed' (March 26).

[7] April 26, 1552.

51. Agrees to secure the Flemish ships in our ports, provided they were no more than could be ruled.[1]

60. The King at Portsmouth.[2]

61. Stukelye's narrative of the King of France.[3] 63, 64, 82.

63. Bulwarks of earth and boards in Essex discharged.[4]

78. Strangers' ships for our wars.[5]

71 & 72. Merchants employing only small hoys.[6]

78. Acknowledges the Flemings to sell to us, as the Spaniards do to them.[5]

82. The French breaking and burning of our ships.[7]

Dr. Gale,[8] discoursing of the original of Parliaments, tells me that it appears that a sea-port has sent a stranger, a seaman (who has happened to be in the port at the time of summons), to go up to the Parliament from them, though he has not been of the Corporation.

Enquire what old medals are to be found of ships with or without sails.

[1] May 4, 1552.
[2] August 8, 1552.
[3] September 16, 21, October 7, 11, 1552.
[4] October 2, 1552.
[5] This reference is not to King Edward's Journal, but to 'A Paper concerning a Free Mart in England,' printed in Burnet's *History of the Reformation* among King Edward's 'Remains.'
[6] This reference is to 'A Discourse about the Reformation of many Abuses,' similarly included.
[7] In 'The Method in which the Council represented Matters of State to the King,' also included among the 'Remains.'
[8] See note on p. 12 above.

Mr. Harrington could find no other name for his Book of Commonwealth but *Oceana*.[1]

Examine our Statute-Book about seamen and sea-affairs.

Even the Trinity House grown corrupt or useless.

Q[*uaere*] their report for no more lights, and yet were forward (more than enough for their own sake as to the profits thereof) in the erecting of Scilly.

The Scotch King mentioned by Fournier [2] went round Scotland like King Edgar. *Q.* whether that Journal was ever in English as it is in French.[3]

Memoirs are true and useful stars, whilst studied histories are those stars joined in constellations, according to the fancy of the poet.

What a company of thanes must we have had, according to the old law, had Englishmen been such great seamen in former times as we pretend to be.

Some sea-commanders have pensions or offices given them on shore only in the excuse for the not suffering them to be longer at sea, viz. Allen,[4] Batten,[5] Menns,[6] Smyth,[7]

[1] The title of James Harrington's famous work, published in 1656, was *The Commonwealth of Oceana.*

[2] James V. See note on p. 50 above.

[3] The last five words are added in Pepys's hand.

[4] Sir Thomas Allin was Comptroller of the Navy from 1671 to 1680.

[5] Sir William Batten was Surveyor of the Navy from 1660 to 1667.

[6] Sir John Mennes was Comptroller of the Navy from 1661 to 1671.

[7] Sir Jeremy Smyth was Comptroller of the Victualling Accounts from 1669 to 1675.

Jordan,[1] and others for their being too good. *Q.* Haddock.[2]

R.H.[2] the greatest instance of an estate raised purely from sea-service.

Consult the Scripture-concordance under the titles of Ship, Sea, and Sea-matters.

Consult what my Lord Coke says against the authority of the Court of Admiralty.[3]

A ship was given for the badge of the tribe of Zabulon.[4]

No Martial Laws at sea till very lately,[5] consequently no provision for good order there, especially in time of war, and now very imperfect ; to be shewn by particulars.

All our Sea-Laws before referred only to trade ; and let it be enquired how much of those are truly our own.

Examine King Henry the 8th's Act for trying of sea-causes.[6]

That other nations came very anciently hither to trade with us does not at all prove us but them to be navigators ; no more than our going now to the East or West Indies proves the Indians to be so ; and that was our case, I doubt. *Vide* Caesar's

[1] Sir Joseph Jordan must have strayed into this category by mistake, as he never held a shore appointment.

[2] Sir Richard Haddock was appointed a Commissioner of the Navy in 1673, and he was Comptroller of the Navy from 1682 to 1686, and again from 1688 to 1715.

[3] *Fourth Institute*, c. 22.

[4] Genesis xlix. 13 : ' Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea ; and he shall be for an haven of ships.'

[5] Martial law was first established by statute by an Act of 1661 (13 Car. II, c. 9).

[6] The Act of 1536 (28 Henr. VIII, c. 15).

Commentaries and Dr. Howell's [1] discourse of people's coming anciently for tin to Scilly.

In the *Bankers' Case*,[2] edition 2nd, section 7th, provision is made by law against sudden invasions by sea, and regalities granted to our King for a standing defence at sea.

Observe therein the ignorant provisions made by our laws for that security, which was only power of pressing men, ships, etc.

How was our sea-creditors and my Memorial on their behalf used by my Lord Clifford at the time of the Post-pone,[3] while care was taken for the interest of the bankers ; and in this my Lord Sh. as guilty as any ; and *quaere* what was the debt to the Navy and its action at that time of service.

Consult the Heralds what tenures they know of by sea-service, whether to private men or corporations.

No king ever did so unaccountable a thing to oblige his people by, as to dissolve a Commission of the Admiralty then in his own hand,[4] who best understands the business of the sea of any prince the world ever had, and things never better done, and put it into hands which he knew were wholly ignorant thereof, sporting himself with their

[1] Probably William Howell, LL.D. (*d.* 1683), the historian.

[2] *Case of the Bankers and their Creditors stated and examined*, by Thomas Turnor. A copy of the edition of 1675 is in the Pepysian Library (*Consutilia*, No. 1497).

[3] This is a reference to the stop of the Exchequer in January 1672. Sir Thomas Clifford, then a Secretary of State, was the author of the scheme, which we now know to have been opposed by Shaftesbury. In April Clifford was raised to the peerage as Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, and in November he became Lord Treasurer.

[4] On the displacement of the Commission of 1673 by that of 1679 see J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, pp. 233–34.

ignorance, and was pleased to declare to me his dependence was upon my service to keep them right, and observe the good effects of this counsel,[1] and examine them man by man, how much any of them could pretend to the sea, and yet would not be contented with the powers intended them by the King but would have all; recommending themselves in their very Commission for their experience. [2]*Q.* the same of this since the Revolution 1688, and existing in the shameful year 1693?

Bankers' Case [3] again says that in the 20th year of Richard the 2nd the French invaded the kingdom, burning Portsmouth, Dartmouth, Lyme, Rye, and Hastings, took the Isle of Wight, besieged Winchelsea, and at length entering the Thames, burnt part of Gravesend,—*vide* page 34. From whence also and the following chapter it is to be observed the folly of England, that allows no necessity great enough to justify the King's levying of any taxes without a Parliament, no, not in this very case, but that the Lords were fain to lend the King money till there could be a Parliament; but satisfy themselves with the King's standing revenue, and his constant power (as that author says) of pressing men and ships, etc., without any care provided for the King's magazines to be kept full; though it is plain that no power of pressing will on a sudden be sufficient to provide a fleet in time. Nor as the world now stands can the merchant service furnish the King with ships and materials of the kinds and sizes necessary for the King's [use?]

[1] MS. 'Council.'

[2] This sentence is a later insertion in Pepys's own hand. 1693 was the year of the loss of the Smyrna fleet.

[3] See p. 70 above.

Consult very well the whole history of the Shipwrights, ship-money, and the Act of Parliament the 17th of Charles the 1st, chapter 14th, for reversing the judgment in the case thereof.[1]

Compare the several patents to the Trinity House from its first institution,[2] observing what additions or alterations time has made therein.

Q[*uaere*] the story of his present Majesty's seamanship, where and when it began and how continued.

Bankers' Case again,[3] section 7th, the whole section full of good notes, where King Henry 3rd (I think it was), though a great, a wise, and valorous king, and good lawmaker, did yet make mighty submissions to his people, begging pardon for the taxes he had laid on them, though he declares they were all to repel the enemies of the kingdom, and issued commissions for enquiring into what sums he or his officers had taken by force either for the guard of the seas or other uses, and he would repay them, and did; and what were not repaid upon those commissions were recovered upon petitions in Parliament; and these enemies were the French too, which shews what sort of provision our laws make for our security at sea where the Prince fails to refund what he has taken even for that service. *Memorandum:* That the records here cited are mighty worthy to be lookt after.

He shews also what provision is made by the law against sudden invasions by land and sea;

[1] This reference should be to 16 Car. I, c. 14.

[2] The charters of 4 Henr. VIII and 1 Eliz. are copied into vol. i. of Pepys's *Miscellanies*; and vol. xi. contains a collection of papers relating to the affairs of the Trinity House, 1513–1687.

[3] See pp. 71, 72 above.

for the former the King has a power of raising all men to arms.

And for sea-invasions he tells us there are :

1.—The good will and voluntary coming-in of people, whereof he gives instances fit to be examined, and particularly in '88.

2.—Power of pressing ships, masters, men, and materials ; *vide* records therein cited, and consider the insufficiency thereof at this day.

3.—Several *regalia* given the King by law for this very use. Examine the records hereof also.

Mr. Evelyn tells me that Sir Walter Raleigh in one of his books takes notice of the difficulty of defending England by sea, by reason of the diversity and approachableness of its ports.

Collect any instances from the Chest papers of our neglect of the seamen in '88, or at any time since, as also the tallies of Sackvile Crow's[1] which were never paid them, and any other of like kind ; together with the present state of the Chest at this day, and observe the disproportion between the value of the Chest-collection then, and now. *Memorandum* also the seaman's double Chest-collection at the King's coming-in.

As an instance of our bad intelligence heretofore as well as now, observe the day of the Spanish Armada's coming out of port, the day of its appearing upon our coasts, and that of the orders sent to our Admiral to bring in the great ships.

[1] Sir Sackville Crowe, when he was Treasurer of the Chatham Chest from 1627 to 1629, appropriated £3000, and the money was still owing in 1644.

Our complaints have still been for want of guard upon the sea for our own safety, and not that others have escaped and gone by us for want of force to apprehend them; we appearing to have always been upon the defensive, without any show of our being masters of the sea; only in that book of records that I lately saw at Dr. Gale's[1] (viz. a printed collection of the Tower records) notice is taken of a complaint against us for piracy. Enquire into that record, what it was.

No care about our timber[2] and hemp in England, though the former we much magnify and the latter is tolerable for cordage and canvas, would we work them good and cheap. Recollect the old statutes, my own observations, and Sir A. Deane's rule and William Boldham's methods about cordage, and enquire the effect of the late pretended invention for extracting tar out of sea-coal.

We have suffered ourselves to come to want of our own growth almost every thing that goes to the building and equipping of a ship. *Memorandum* our survey of the Forest of Dean[3]; whereas a naval nation that could have done it ought to have encouraged the having every thing within itself.

[1] Dr. Thomas Gale, Pepys's kinsman, was High Master of St. Paul's School from 1672 to 1697, when he became Dean of York. The 'printed collection' referred to may have been one of those for which Sir Robert Cotton was responsible.

[2] On the scarcity of timber in England see Hollond, *Discourses of the Navy* (N.R.S., vol. vii.), p. 207, note 2, and p. 213, and Sir Anthony Deane's view quoted in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 49–50.

[3] An Act of 1668 (19 & 20 Car. II, c. 8) aimed at securing 'the increase and preservation of timber within the Forest of Dean.' The survey referred to was taken in 1671, and a copy of it is in the Pepysian Library (*Abstracts of Naval Papers*, vol. i. No. 56).

No provision made here (as everywhere else) at the public, but only at the private seaman's own charge, for the maintenance of chaplains at sea[1]; and even that very contribution begged away to the benefit of private men, viz. Sir William Penn, etc., out of the very souls and bodies of the poor seamen. Which practice had I not got stopt, there would in a little time have probably been very few chaplains on board the King's ships. But I got it stopt, and a method established for the choice of good chaplains,[2] and the moneys arising from vacancies appropriated to the Chest.[3] *Vide* my expostulatory letter about chaplains to my Lord Bishop of London. Nor was there any form of public prayer provided for the sea till since the King's return. *Vide* the time, authors, and style of it, not Popish. [4]*Q.* the complaint against Bishop Laud of the prayer for the sea being left out in the Book of Liturgy?

Enquire whether any other trades, and what, are forbidden to be taught to foreigners; and what we have (if any) that most deserve it, and whether they be forbidden or no; and how ridiculous any such prohibition must necessarily be in that of shipbuilding.

Examine for sea-matters: *Encyclopaedia;* Draudius[5] his *Bibliotheca;* Dr. Gale's[6] common-place-book.

[1] Naval chaplains received the pay of an ordinary seaman, and 4*d.* a month deducted from the wages of each man on board.

[2] On the establishment for chaplains of December 1677 see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 205–6.

[3] *Ib.* i. 205, note 3.

[4] This sentence is in Pepys's own hand.

[5] George Draudius (1573–1630), a German writer, published his *Bibliotheca Classica* in 1611.

[6] See note on p. 75 above.

No method ever established about the flag for distinguishing the King's ships of war from his subjects' till I provided a proclamation for that purpose.[1] Consider Serjeant Knight's Discourse about the Flag of England. Recollect the disorders and abuses about putting up the King's flag or jack, and the particular instances of my opposing it in the case of the Prince and my Lord Dumblaine.[2]

Moreover what occasion could be for this in former ages, when our kings had no ships of their own nor particular flags, and both they and their subjects served themselves with foreign as well as with English-built ships? And how also were strangers in that case to know who to strike their flags to? *Vide* what colours Holbane[3] puts up in his picture of King Henry 8's ships.

And then compare King John's words in his Ordinance at Hastings[4] with the terms wherein we now demand the flag, and see whether our present practice agrees therewith or is grown more or less.

Reflect upon the present exorbitance of commanders in demanding, and the slightness of granting, commissions for wearing of flags in the case of carrying ambassadors, and the abuse done

[1] On the decision of June 3, 1674, to forbid the wearing of the King's flag by merchantmen, see *Admiralty Journal*, p. cx.

[2] Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, was in 1673 created Viscount Osborne of Dunblane in the peerage of Scotland. 'The Prince' is probably Prince Rupert. They were both Commissioners of the Admiralty in 1674, when the question of the flag was under discussion.

[3] Holbein was recognised as the King's painter about 1536.

[4] A copy of this Ordinance is in vol. iii. of Pepys's *Miscellanies*, p. 228. See also T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 39–43.

thereto by Sir John Finch [1]; as also flags allowed over very small squadrons, and particularly in the case of Captain Herbert, which I withstood his importunities for, as long as I remained in the Navy, though it was afterwards granted him,[2] and is now borne by him as Admiral in the Straits. *Memorandum* the number of ships which I got established[3] for the smallest that should entitle the commander of a squadron to the half-pay of a flag-officer, which seems to infer backwards that a less number than that cannot deserve a flag.

Examine the carved trophies of an Admiral now extant in the old Duke of Buckingham's music-room; what improprieties are discoverable therein.

When came the Masters-Attendant [4] to have liveries out of the Wardrobe? And how came the charge of the Navy to be brought into the Wardrobe account? And how and when was it taken from it?

Enquire of Sir Joseph Williamson [5] for any letters or papers of State relating to the sea, and observe the imperfections and perfections thereof.

[1] Sir John Finch the physician was Ambassador to Constantinople 1672–82. On the 'dishonour' inflicted upon the King on the occasion of the Ambassador's visit to Livorne, by the ship in which he travelled striking her flag, see *Admiralty Journal*, pp. 131, 193.

[2] In 1678 Captain Arthur Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, was appointed Vice-Admiral in the Straits under Sir John Narbrough, who was entitled to a flag. In May 1679 Herbert was left in sole command, as Narbrough returned to England, and in July 1680 he received an Admiral's commission.

[3] Twelve men-of-war, besides fireships and small craft: see minute of March 6, 1675, in *Admiralty Journal*, p. 160.

[4] MS. 'Master Attendants.' In January 1675 the masters-attendant applied for an allowance in lieu of their liveries to be fixed; see *Admiralty Journal*, pp. 131, 318.

[5] One of the Secretaries of State 1674–78.

For curiosity only, that instance given in the end of the *Bankers' Case* [1] of the discredit of Henry the 8th's Treasury.

Enquire after and overlook all the ancient accounts of the Crown, whatever they be.

Those which heretofore had the name of ships of war, because taken up and employed by the King in time of war, served only as sea-carriages for the men that went thither to fight in them; whereas now ships are themselves become, by the force of their bodies and guns, instruments both of offence and defence.

And consequently the skill of commanding and governing of ships is much more now than heretofore, nor commanders fit for men-of-war so easily to be found now as then, though there be always to be found a sufficiency of masters for merchantmen, so as those that are qualified for men-of-war are more to be cherished; and here may be shewn what there is more of knowledge to be required in the King's service than is to be learned in the merchants', remembering the ill-conduct of the East India Company's ships in the Indies against the Dutch, whereof Mr. Houblon gave me long since a written account.[2] And the like to be enquired after of any other instances to be found of the mistakes of merchants' masters on occasions of war, or in ships of war.

And here is also to be noted and improved what Sir Walter Raleigh in his *History of the*

[1] See note on p. 71 above.

[2] Pepys's intimate friend, Mr., afterwards Sir James, Houblon, was frequently consulted by him on matters of this kind. Some of Houblon's reports are among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

World wishes might be done about a method or theory to be digested of the managing of a sea-fight.

Among many other things to be collected out of Sands' Travels,[1] one may observe the following particulars, viz. :

The ignorance and strange stories of the ancients concerning Scylla and Charybdis.

Apply also the marks set to judge of the rise and fall of the River Nilus to the more ignorant practice of our ancestors in setting up marks about the English coasts for the judging the time of our tides.

With what difficulty have Acts passed for money for the use of the Navy and keeping of our dominion at sea, as the very Acts themselves are prefaced, and particularly one for money and the other for building the 30 ships[2] ; which last every one of the 7 Commissioners of the Admiralty but one, of those who were in the Parliament, (viz. Mr. Finch), were against,[3] as Sir John Lowther[4] himself has observed to me.

[1] In 1615 George Sandys the poet published his *Relation of a Journey*, an account of his travels in Italy, Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine.

[2] On the Act of 1677 for building thirty new ships see *Admiralty Journal*, p. xciii ff.

[3] The reference is to the members of the new Admiralty Commission of 1679, of which Daniel Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, was a member.

[4] Sir John Lowther, afterwards first Viscount Lonsdale, was M.P. for Westmorland from 1676 to 1696.

Has any physician in any age offered at a remedy against the sea-sickness ? [1]

Reflect upon the authors appointed by Queen Elizabeth to be read by the Mathematical Professor at Cambridge by her Statutes to that University from Reading,[2] 25th of September, 1570 ; a copy of which particular paragraph I have by me.

Observe that none of our English historians have writ anything expressly concerning our sea-affairs or actions, but only mentioned them by accident, briefly and ignorantly.

Observe that part of the charge against Plumcake [3] relating to his choosing Carlingford for the French army to land at, and its being swallowed by our jury and court ; nothing being a fuller instance of our general ignorance in sea-affairs, and our opinion of the ignorance of the King of France and his Ministers beyond what we have reason for. *Q.* do not the French trade to Ireland, and so know our ports there, whilst we, who live nearer them and are more nearly concerned, are so ignorant of them.

Collect what can be found of Frenchmen or strangers employed in the English Navy, or corresponded with in the late time of rebellion.

[1] Pepys himself suffered from seasickness ' to the utmost extremity ' (J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, p. 231 n.).

[2] ' Mathematicus Professor, si Cosmographiam docet, Melam, Plinium, Strabonem, aut Platonem enarret ; si Arithmeticam, Tonstallum aut Cardanum, etc. ; si Geometriam, Euclidem ; si Astronomiam, Ptolomaeum ' (University Statutes of 1570, c. iv. : *De Temporibus Lectionum et Libris praelegendis*).

[3] Oliver Plunket, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was executed at Tyburn on July 1, 1681, for having conspired to bring a French army to Ireland which was to land at Carlingford. This, as Pepys realised, was an impossible place for the purpose, and the charge was without foundation. ' Plumcake ' must be a derisive nickname.

Q[*uaere*] who besides my Lord Coke has writ against our Court of Admiralty,[1] and peruse them all.

What place of precedence has the Admiral in France or any other nation ?

Q[*uaere*] will it not appear that our Admiralty Laws have been taken from other nations, and particularly from France.

Q[*uaere*] what may be inferred from our law about royal fishes, and what has been wrote thereon ; and the like concerning wrecks, jetson,[2] etc.

And here consider also what Dr. Fuller in his *Holy War* says of King Richard the 1st's making the law easier to the subject in case of any living creature found upon a wreck.[3]

We have been urged, even by the example of the Dutch, to fall to the herring-fishery ; they having raised their State by that very particular out of our pretended seas. But all proposals to that purpose have hitherto come to nothing ; and they beat us out of our dominion with the product of our own dominion. *Q*. what the reason of that can be, unless the natural plenty of England which does not press us to the taking much pains for our living ; from whence it seems

[1] See p. 70 above.

[2] A form of ' jettison,' but here used in the sense of ' jetsam.'

[3] ' And therefore in the month of October [1190] at Messana, in the presence of many archbishops and bishops, he for ever quitted the claim to wracks, so that if any man out of the ship cometh alive to the shore, the property of the shipwrackt goods is still preserved to the owner. Yea, this grant was so enlarged by our succeeding kings, that if a dogge or a cat escaped alive to land, the goods still remained the owner's if he claimed them within a year and a day ' (Fuller, *The History of the Holy War*, bk. iii. c. 7).

that we might possibly be uppermost at sea as long as nothing was to be done therein but barely the employing of land-soldiers thereon. But when it comes to require real drudgery and constant toil, as the seaman's trade now does, we could not endure it so well as other nations and particularly the Dutch do.

Consider the Knights of Maltha their great doings at sea, who are nevertheless men of quality.

A great deal towards the right stating the case and story of the sea and sea-service depends upon having a right and full account of all the difficulties, qualifications, hazards, arts, languages, ability of body, continence, patience, enduring ill smells, slovenries, noise, and breach of rest, etc., appertaining to a sea-life, and all that compared with a land-life, and particularly of a soldier, the valour requisite to the former being rather superior to what is requisite in the latter; and then see whether the trade of a seaman (as such) can be universally embraced (as it is with the Dutch) in any nation that does not want it for the necessary support of life and government; neither of which could be said of us anciently, when contenting ourselves with a mean sort of living on shore we wanted little from abroad, and guarding our coasts was all that was necessary for securing our Government. Delicacy of life may indeed suffice to make a nation make use of navigation as far as it is necessary for carriage, as we do carts and weapons at land, but never to become the trade of people of quality, as a desire of conquest may do the like for the transporting of men upon occasions of war, but no more; and that was the most we ever heretofore made use of ships for, and those strangers' as much or more than our own.

It is plain that we never understood our own coasts till our buoys and lights, etc., were set up; they being all set up at the petition of the several navigations, and promises of contributions. *Q.* when was the first set up; and consult the important words of the Act about Sea-Marks,[1] and what other laws (if any) were before that about sea-marks. Besides, it is to be noted that the great profit of the lords of manors upon the sea-coasts lay in wrecks, and therefore they and their tenants never were for but against the setting up these marks; as that Act itself (if I do not misremember) implies. Besides, that to this day both lords and tenants upon the coasts do most savagely make prey of all shipwrackt persons, goods, and vessels. And our laws seem to be still very barbarous in that case; nay, where ships are taken from the enemy they are reckoned good prizes after so long continuance in the enemies' hands, notwithstanding the public bears the charge of maintaining those men-of-war that retake them, and are maintained only for the security of the subject's trade.

Apply that passage in a play where a man by having undeservedly got the reputation of a man of the sword, is exposed to so many quarrels that he wishes himself freed of that reputation.

If it had not pleased God to give us a King and Duke that understood the sea, this nation had 'ere this been quite beaten out of it, such was the deplorable condition of our Navy when they came in, in comparison of the Dutch.

[1] 8 Eliz. c. 13 (1566), 'An Act touching Sea Marks and Mariners,' empowered the Trinity House to erect beacons and sea marks; the preamble refers to 'the destroying and taking away' of ancient beacons and marks.

See my Lord Coke, etc., about the Warden's privileges, and history of the Cinque Ports.[1]

Had we understood or minded navigation, we should never have suffered Dover to lie in the condition it does, especially after what was begun therein by Queen Elizabeth.[2]

Are not other nations, and particularly France, better provided of sea-laws than we ?

Extraordinary backward the proceedings of our Court of Admiralty about their causes and judgments since the Act of Henry the 8th for trials thereof ; [3] with the names and qualities of the several Commissioners.

Examine the rise, substance, effect, and present state of the great Act of Henry 8 or Queen Elizabeth for relief of wounded soldiers and seamen in the several counties.[4] And what other Acts are to be found more ancient or modern.

Examine the histories of the Hans-Towns, as they respect England—trade and force—at sea.

What a wonder we made of Sir Francis Drake's vessel, when the same voyage had been gone twice before by others ! Examine his account of that voyage for some good matters of information.

The shift the Greenlanders make with their boats seems as wonderful as anything in our

[1] *Fourth Institute*, c. 42.

[2] A Commission for the repair of Dover Harbour was appointed in 1580 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1547–80, p. 671), and on May 27, 1588, Sir William Wynter was able to report to Lord Burghley that the works ' are very great and little remains to be done ' (*ib.*, 1581–90, p. 484). The bad condition of the harbour in 1674 is referred to in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal*, p. 79.

[3] See p. 70 above.

[4] Probably 43 Eliz. c. 3, ' An Act for the Necessary Relief of Soldiers and Mariners.'

shipping. Examine the true history of those people.

As also of our forefathers' wicker boats, described by Caesar.

Consider also that Caesar's fleet that he invaded England with consisted of no bigger ships than what could be haled up upon the shore.

My sister St. Michel living long in Holland and at Deal,[1] has observed to me that the Dutch seamen are ever better clad than ours, and either are soberer or can bear drink better. And it is notorious how much neater they generally live on shipboard than we.

Note also with respect to the Dutch that less pay and certain is better to a seaman and his family than long and uncertain though bigger.

Enquire what Cardinal Woolsey did that was great at Calais, whereof in Mr. Coke's Book of our Ministers of State mention is made; and how can I come to the particular of the preparations committed to the Cardinal to make for the King's going over to France in the beginning of his Life.[2]

Q[*uaere*] what will be found relating to navigation in Hakewell's *Apology*.[3]

[1] Balthazar St. Michel, Mrs. Pepys's brother, married Esther Watts as his first wife in 1662; she died in 1687. In 1664 the couple went into Holland to seek their fortune, but returned the next year. In 1673 St. Michel was holding the appointment of muster-master at Deal.

[2] See George Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey*, i. 23–4. The MS. was written in 1557.

[3] Dr. George Hakewill's book, *An Apologie . . . of the power and Providence of God in the Government of the World . . .* was published in 1627. On Sunday February 3, 1667, Pepys was reading the book 'with great pleasure.'

Enquire and make a comparison between the value of the customs, tonnage, and poundage for some age past and now.

Improve what my Lord Bacon says in his *History of Henry 7th*, page 45,[1] touching that king's being the first that made a consideration of plenty give place to that of power at sea, by an Act passed in the 4th year of his reign prohibiting some wines and woods to be imported hither in other than English bottoms, saying that almost all former Statutes about trade had been made for the encouraging of foreign merchants. In which though I find him in part mistaken, an Act of the same kind having been passed in the 5th of Richard the 2nd, 3 chapter[2]; yet probably that Act was grown obsolete, we still continuing desirous, and under an opinion of needing the aid of foreign merchants and shipping even in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when I find a Statute made to repeal those two Acts[3] upon considerations fit to be examined, and the several Acts upon that subject (for and against) which may have passed since, to this day, and particularly our last great Act for encouragement of our navigation.[4]

[1] 'The King also (having care to make his realm potent as well by sea as by land) for the better maintenance of the navy ordained, That wines and woads from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc should not be brought but in English bottoms, bowing the ancient policy of this estate from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For that almost all the ancient statutes invite (by all means) merchants strangers to bring in all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power' (Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding, vi. 95). The statute is 4 Henr. VII, c. 10, 'Of wine and Toulouse wood.'

[2] 5 Ric. II, st. 1, c. 3.

[3] 1 Eliz. c. 13, 'An Act for the shipping in English bottoms,' repeals 5 Ric. II, st. 1, c. 3, and 4 Henr. VII, c. 10.

[4] 12 Car. II, c. 18.

Reflect also upon what my Lord Bacon in the beginning of the same History observe[s] under the title in its table,[1] of emulation of the English towards the French touching the considerations that led us then so violently to assist the Duke of Brittany against the French (viz.) the French King becoming master of a province whose sea-coasts and ports lay dangerous for the invading of England and interrupting of its trade.

Observe the character given Sir Walter Raleigh in Coke's Book of Lives, and remember that he was a gentleman, and the first great seaman of England that ever was so, unless it was the Earl of Nottingham ;[2] and therefore what he observes concerning the debauchery of our young gentlemen then sent to sea is the more observable in one of his little tracts.[3]

Venus orta Mari.

Examine the books of mythology and poetry relating to the sea.

Buy Matthew Parris.

Bad payment of the victuallers and other contractors has always been made use of and prevailed in excuse for every failure of theirs wherein the service suffered, and yet has intituled them to get payment afterwards when those failures and the consequences were slipt out of mind, or at least might be extenuated, or the heads of the King's officers full of other business or otherwise tempted

[1] As there are no tables of contents in Bacon's *Henry VII*, the meaning of this reference is not clear.

[2] Better known as Lord Howard of Effingham, his title at the time of the Armada.

[3] Probably in the passage referred to in note 2 on p. 6 above.

not to make the most of them, and in the mean time under those necessities of the King's service anything is accepted instead of good, because the service must be supplied and better was not to be had.

Collect materials towards writing my Lord Sandwich's Life, viz. from the King, Duke, Cousin Roger Pepys,[1] Mr. Baker, Lord Crew,[2] Lady Wright,[3] Mr. Turner.[4]

[5] And particularly the overtures to him from the King while in the Sound : [6] Lord Clarendon.

How many and how late have any titles of honour been taken from any maritime places of this kingdom ?

How many families are there bearing coat-armour, and how few of them consisting of maritime bearings ?

Many names of families and places ending in *ford*, etc., but few beginning or ending in *sea*. And here enquire how a man may come to the most perfect catalogue of all names and families.

Out of Dr. Fuller's *Holy War*, book 3, chapter 7,[7] take notice of King Richard 1st's granting away

[1] Roger Pepys of Impington was a first cousin of Samuel's father and also of the Earl of Sandwich.

[2] John Crew, created in 1661 1st Baron Crew of Stene, was Lady Sandwich's father. As he died in 1679, the reference in the text must be to his successor, her brother Thomas.

[3] Lady Sandwich's sister Anne, the wife of Sir Harry Wright, Bart., M.P. for Harwich.

[4] Possibly Mr. Serjeant John Turner, the husband of Jane Pepys ; she was a distant cousin to Samuel Pepys and to Lord Sandwich. The name is added in Pepys's own hand.

[5] This entry has several corrections in Pepys's own hand.

[6] See F. R. Harris, *Life of the Earl of Sandwich*, i. 141. The passage in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is in bk. xvi.

[7] See p. 82 above.

to his subjects the right to wrecks, which was till then in the Crown, viz. where any living creature was found surviving on board, and this only upon his over-esteem of the difficulty of his fleet's coming safe to him to a port within the Straits.

Ditto book 4th, chapter 24th.[1] Sea and land service compared by him.

Ditto book 5, chapter 25th.[2] An Order of Sea-Knights called *Equites Cochleares*, for sea-service in the Holy War, quoted out of Zuerius Buxhorne his Apology for the Holland's Shipping.[3]

Ditto book 5, chapters 20, 21, 22, 23.[4] A good comparison of the several degrees of service, and particularly sea-service, done by the several nations interested in the Holy War.

Enquire what havens (if any) we have heretofore had for great ships, and what is their present state, or of small ones that are gone to wrack; and what are in the best or good order now, and why.

[1] The title of the chapter is, 'The Genoan navy beaten by the Venetian; sea- and land-service compared both in danger and honour.'

[2] The reference is to bk. v. ch. 24, 'Of the honourable Arms in scutcheons of Nobility occasioned by their service in the Holy War,' where the following sentence occurs: 'I find an Order of Knights called *Equites Cochleares*, wearing belike cockle or scallop-shells, belonging to them who had done good sea-service, especially in the Holy War.'

[3] *Apologia pro Navigationibus Hollandorum* . . . (1633), by Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, a Dutch historian.

[4] V. 20: 'Of the numberless Christians which lost their lives in this service.' V. 21: 'The Throne of Deserts: What nation merited most praise in this War; And first, of the French and Dutch service therein.' V. 22: 'The English and Italian service compared; Of the Spanish, Polish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Danish, and Swedish performance in this war.' V. 23: 'Of the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, their several adventures.'

How could England be great in shipping in former times? For what trades had they at sea? Not the West Indies, nor the East, nor the colliery, nor foreign fishery. And then enquire when we had the Straits trade; observing what is just before mentioned of Richard the 1st's[1] surprise at his fleet's coming safe to him thither. Besides that we served ourselves with foreign shipping for the bringing in of most commodities.

Get a true account of the meaning of the Admiralship of Castile.

What proverbs have we relating to the sea?

Enquire of our Heralds when the cross or any other particular standard became first in use with the English either at land or sea, and what they were. And the like to any other nation either before or after us.

Dr. Fuller says that the Norweses and Danes were at sea in the Holy War, and particularly took Sidon, long (viz. 80 years) before Richard 1st went to the Holy Land.[2]

Memorandum. That Tyrius is the author generally quoted by Dr. Fuller for his *History of the Holy War.*

How old is the Seal of our Admiralty?

King John had no title at all to the kingdom at land, and therefore had the least right to the pretending to and magnifying that to the sea.[3]

[1] MS. 'Richard the 2d's.'

[2] Fuller, on the authority of Tyrius, says that the Christians captured Sidon, December 19, 1112, 'by the assistance of the Danish and Norwegian fleet (ii. 12; *cf.* also v. 22).'

[3] See p. 58 above.

Consult throughly Sir Walter Raleigh's Preface and *History of the World.*

What improvements (if any) have the Royal Society made relating to the sea or sea-affairs? *Vide* their *History* and *Transactions.*[1]

Prospective glasses unknown to the ancients, particularly at sea.

Enquire the original of the *Consulado de[l] Mar.*[2]

Oppose complaints to the several times of our public records boasting of the power of our ancestors at sea.

Examine the several printed discourses about our Royal Fishery.

Ditto what is to be learned from the Roman *bellum piraticum.*

Memorandum the difficulty of passing Lieutenant Deering's commission for captain, and Mr. Hales his opposing it.[3]

The Dominion of the Sea seems to have principally served for a ground for our princes to ask money upon, and for the people to reproach their princes with the decay of.

[1] Bishop Sprat's *History of the Royal Society of London* had appeared in 1667; and the first number of *Philosophical Transactions* is dated March 6, 1665. The Pepysian Library contains a series of the *Transactions* from 1665 to 1701.

[2] A famous collection of maritime customs and ordinances in the Catalan language published at Barcelona in 1494. The Catalan text of the most important of these, with an English translation, is appended to vol. iii. of the edition of the *Black Book of the Admiralty* by Sir Travers Twiss. A copy of the edition printed at Valencia in 1539 is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1577].

[3] Lieutenant Daniel Dering was promoted to the command of the Dover, July 16, 1681. Mr. Edward Hales was one of the Admiralty Commissioners by whom the commission was granted.

Collect how much foreign goods of all sorts will be found to have been required for the enabling us to build our 30 new ships.[1]

Enquire what defects are discoverable in my manuscripts about shipbuilding.[2]

Q[*uaere*] whether ever any forfeitures have been taken by the Company of Shipwrights for the employing of strangers.

Q[*uaere*] the practices and ground of taking the best anchor and cable in the Downs, etc., of any stranger that touches on ground.[3]

And the like of the Governor of Portsmouth's taking 52 pence of any stranger that comes within this government, with the like done of any kind or degree elsewhere upon our coasts.

Enquire the manner of carrying the *guglios* [4] from Egypt to Rome.

Mr. Povey [5] advises me to look after 2 or 3 books which he says are to be had of Dr. Frasier's containing matters proper for my enquiry.

Consult Dr. Browne's *Vulgar Errors*.[6]

Ditto the King of France's method and institution of his East India Company,[7] giving them the privilege of *noblesse*, and other immunities and

[1] See p. 13 above.

[2] A long list of these manuscripts is printed in *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, pt. i. pp. 94–5.

[3] See p. 221 below.

[4] Obelisks.

[5] Thomas Povey was Pepys's predecessor as Treasurer for Tangier. The *Diary* contains many disparaging references to him.

[6] Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* had appeared in 1646.

[7] The French East India Company was founded by royal edict in 1664.

assistances beyond anything we have done to any of ours.

More done to the honour of our seamen by their heads put into Queen Elizabeth's hangings than by us in all our wars, and more by the Dutch in Van Trump's monument.[1]

Q[*uaere*] what further of that kind done by the Dutch or French.

Q[*uaere*] also how it comes to pass that there is hardly a Dutch commander of any note of which there is not a public print.

Q[*uaere*] is not a merchant esteemed in Holland a person among those of the best quality, and the like of a sea-commander.

Selden[2] says that before Henry 3rd's time (when Admirals first came up) the ordinary justices of peace or sheriffs of counties had the charge and care of the sea-coasts also belonging to the said counties.

Consider the preamble of the Statute of Henry 6th[3] about safe-conducts.

Shipwrights so far from being one of the 12 that I think it is none of the Companies of the City[4]; nor that of the Trinity House neither.

[1] This is in the church at Delft, where Tromp was buried in 1653.

[2] *Of the Dominion . . . of the Sea*, bk. ii. c. 14 (pp. 293–94 in edition of 1652).

[3] 18 Henr. VI, c. 8, provides that alien merchants may lade enemy ships having letters of safe conduct; and the capture of enemy ships not having letters of safe conduct is declared valid. 20 Henr. VI, c. 1, makes further provision to the same effect, and 29 Henr. VI, c. 2, confirms 2 Henr. V, st. i. c. 6, relating to safe conduct.

[4] On the Shipwrights' Company of London, and its humble position among the Civic Companies, see W. G. Perrin, *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (N.R.S. vol. li.), p. xxxiii ff.

Consult Sir Walter Raleigh [1] about sea-fights, page 602, and earnestly vindicates the Earl of Nottingham's conduct in '88; which it seems (successful as it was) had not escaped censure in that age, no more than others have happened to do in ours.

Mr. Selden is said to have remained under a constant discontent for his not being rewarded by the King for his *Mare Clausum*, otherwise than by an Order of Council for its being preserved by several copies of it to be laid up in the several Offices of Records.[2]

Q[*uaere*] the oldest draught or plat that any of our seamen, plat-makers, or antiquaries have met with of English making; the oldest I have seen being Spanish or French.

Obtain of Mr. Evelyn his History of the late Sea War, and his paper relating to his Prize-Office belonging to the sea; what sea-plats he shewed me, together with the rest of his original Letters of State, and Sir Francis Drake's Journal, which he says he has and promised to look up for me.[3]

Remember also together what is proper for me out of Mr. Hewer's collection from the old

[1] *History of the World*, part i. bk. v. c. 1, § 6.

[2] One copy was to be kept among the records of the Council, a second in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty (*D.N.B.* li. 218).

[3] On December 6, 1681, Evelyn sent Pepys the MS. of his own History of the Dutch War, and a 'large sea-chart' in addition to two others already sent (Pepys's *Private Correspondence*, i. 14). Evelyn's History is lost, but the preface to it was issued in 1674 under the title *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress*. Drake's Journal is now in the Pepysian Library, but the other papers were probably returned (see letter from Pepys to Evelyn of March 28, 1692, in the *Private Correspondence*, i. 56).

Journal of the Admiralty formerly given me by my predecessor Mr. Barlow.[1]

Collect a through[2] account of the Prince his proceedings by Sir William Jenings,[3] etc., about selling his guns to France.

Examine the account which Josephus gives so particularly of the port and mole of Caesarea. Book 15, chapter 13.[4]

Examine very well the King's Library at St. James's, and particularly the hydrographical draughts presented to Henry 8th by John Rotz, a servant of his.[5] *Q.* whether an Englishman or no.

Dr. Gale[6] tells me that he does not remember that there is any one castle mentioned in Domesday Book but what were built between the Conqueror's coming-in and the date of that survey, and so expressed to be. Nor does the Dr. incline to believe that there was any before.

He observes to me also that there is no mention made in that Book at all of the City of London; besides that it wants several entire counties, as particularly Cumberland, Lancashire; as also that the Conqueror distributed among his Normans

[1] 'Up very betimes and to my office, and there made an end of reading my book that I have of Mr. Barlow's of the Journall of the Commissioners of the Navy who begun to act in the year 1628 and continued six years, wherein is fine observations and precedents out of which I do purpose to make a good collection' (*Diary*, April 6, 1663). The collection must have been made by William Hewer in his capacity of Pepys's clerk.

[2] In the 17th century 'through' and 'thorough' were interchangeable.

[3] In 1673 Sir William Jennens was commanding the Victory in the engagements between Prince Rupert and De Ruyter. On Prince Rupert's interest in gunnery, see *D.N.B.* xlix. 416.

[4] The reference is to *Antiquities of the Jews*, bk. xv. c. 9.

[5] These are now in the British Museum.

[6] See note on p. 75 above.

not only the estates that were forfeited by the English by their opposing him, but some of the very Crown lands too, to which he had as indisputable a right and pretence as to the Crown itself, which he conceives to be politically done that his nobility and others might be interested with him in the support of his Conquest. He says also that he finds a particular grant made by the Conqueror to his kinsman Fitz-Allan of Richmond Castle, with the lands appertaining thereto, and therein particularly specified, with the portraiture of the Conqueror drawn in the beginning of it, with a full beard above and below, delivering this charter to his said kinsman; whereof nevertheless no mention is made at all in Domesday Book. So as the same appears (contrary to the perpetual and vulgar acceptation of it) to be no true general survey of England, but a very imperfect one.

Call upon Sir Robert Reading [1] for an account of his pharoses [2] in Ireland.

Ditto Mr. Abraham Hill [3] for the inscription upon the picture of Sir James Lancaster, an English seaman, hanging in Skinners' Hall.

[1] Sir Robert Reading, Baronet, of Dublin (*cr.* 1675), an ancestor of the Dukes of Abercorn. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1671, p. 479, where a letter of September 12, 1671, enumerates 'the lighthouses and towers' belonging to Robert Reading—'the two lighthouses on the hill of Howth, and that on Island Magee near Carrickfergus, that on the Old Head of Kinsale, that near Barry Oge's Castle within Kinsale Harbour, and the tower of Hook.' Their cost is given as £2600.

[2] MS. 'faro's.'

[3] Abraham Hill, Treasurer of the Royal Society 1663–65 and 1679–1700, was a friend and correspondent of Pepys and Evelyn. Sir James Lancaster (*d.* 1618) was concerned in English trade with the East Indies, and in 1600 commanded the first fleet of the East India Company. He bequeathed a large part of his property to charities in connexion with the Skinners' Company.

The history of Karaucius,[1] which Mr. Hill says (out of Tristan) to have been an Irishman of Munster, so powerful at sea as to impede the coming over of one of the Roman Emperors against England.

Improve also his hints about enquiring into the several probable reasons upon which our several ancient laws about trade have from time to time been grounded, with the weaknesses thereof, and how their contraries have and are at this day found to have been our interest, though looked upon as never so sacred and essential to our Government heretofore; such as the prohibiting the exportation of our horses, etc. which will in general lead us to the detecting the universal and constant ignorance of our ancestors in the business of trade and navigation.

Seek an account of Andrea Doria,[2] the great sea-commander in the Christian fleet at the battle of Lepanto.

Dr. Gale tells me that (besides what he has elsewhere noted to me of the mention of the King's Steerman[3] in Domesday Book) the Admiral is

[1] Carausius established himself as Roman Emperor in Britain, and in 289 defeated the fleet of the Emperor Maximian. In his youth he had earned his living as a pilot on the Scheldt; he was a Menapian and not an Irishman, but Gibbon regarded him as the founder of British naval power. John Tristan published in 1657 a French History of the Roman Empire.

[2] Andrea Doria (1468–1560) was a famous Genoese admiral; but the battle of Lepanto was not fought until 1571, eleven years after his death. Pepys is confusing him with the incompetent Gian Andrea Doria, the younger.

[3] On December 3, 1681, Pepys received from Dr. Thomas Gale, the learned headmaster of St. Paul's School, an answer to his enquiry 'touching the true construction of the word *versoria*, etc., and the antiquity of the title and office of steerman, both in England and Norway' (Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, Part II. p. 178).

called by the name of Steerman among the Danes at this day.

He tells me also that it appears by the said Book that there was never a castle in England at the time of the Normans' coming over but Dover ; all besides (which are mentioned in that Book) appearing by it to have been built between his coming and the date of the said Book; his security as an invader making them necessary.

Also that from the original constitution of our Parliaments (according to Dr. Brady [1]) and the innovation made therein by Henry 3rd which continues to this day, there was no regard had, or preconsulted aim at forming that constitution that might be the proper and adequate representative of the several classes of the commons of England, citizens, burgesses, and barons of the sea-ports not being taken in with any respect to the business of trade and navigation, but upon the old foundation (in use before Henry 3rd both for counties and boroughs) of their holding some lands or immunities from the King upon condition of some services or other, and particularly that of attending him at his Great Council.

Also that it appears that most of our considerable laws made in Parliament have been made in hurries upon some sudden provocations or occasions, in which the powerful faction either on the Court or People-side have been partially bent to do some particular good or hurt, Parliaments having been generally called and obtained to such purposes

[1] Dr. Robert Brady (*d.* 1700), historian and physician, the author of *A Compleat History of England*, 1685, and *An Historical Treatise of Cities and . . . Boroughs*, 1690. See also note on p. 42 above.

only, without any regard to a pacate [1] and leisurely deliberating and forecasting of laws for the general improvement of trade, or aught else of the standing or permanent interests of the government in peace relating to the common good of the people and growth of the commonwealth in its trade, whether domestic or foreign.

Also that the Sweeds, Danes, etc., northern nations living anciently for the most part upon spoil and depredation, appear to have divided their year into two expeditions, viz. one in the winter months, when they made their excursions upon land, and the other in the summer, when they could do it by sea. And this was the occasion of our being infested in ancient times so much by their piracies on our coasts.

Also that, though the same was done to us by different nations, yet they went all with us under the name of *Danes*, as they did afterwards for *Normans* who came in with the Conqueror, though he was driven to collect his army from wherever he could gather it by the hopes and promises of purchase; [2] it being manifest that that invasion was undertaken by them only as a body of privateers.

Also that the Conqueror minded the business of naval force during his time, burning his ship at his landing; it appearing (*Q.* his authority for this) that Harold [3] had at the same time some fleet abroad.

Memorandum that Mr. Thynne tells me that

[1] 'Pacate' = tranquil.
[2] Plunder.
[3] MS. 'Herald.'

VICTORIA COLLEGE
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VICTORIA, B. C.

he has one Roll of Henry the 8th's galleys,[1] with which what I saw in the King's Closet and the other in my own hand do (I believe) make up the whole Navy Royal at that time.

He says also that he has in the same place the descriptions of several of our sea-ports in the condition they were in in those days.

St. Paul, reckoning up his several perils, mentions those of the seas four several times.[2]

Observe in Rivius [3] his preface to his *Re Navali* what he says of Byas his expression to magnify the terror of the seaman's life.

The arms of Bristol is a ship going in or out of its gate.

The coats of arms of the Officers of the Navy hanging up at the Hill House [4] at Chatham.

Collect the history of the Fishmongers' Company of London and their arms, and their being at this day eaten out by other Companies mixed with theirs; and consider the chapter in [the] D[uke of] Y[ork]'s old MSS. about fish.

[1] The Pepysian Library contains the first and third of the three Rolls of Anthony Anthony's 'Declaration of the Royal Navy of England,' 1546, given to Pepys by the King in 1680. The second Roll, of Galliasses, was lent to him from the Royal Library at St. James's by his friend Mr. Thynne, the Librarian there, and afterwards returned (*Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, part i. p. 70).

[2] 2 Cor. xi. 25–6, 'Thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; . . . in perils of waters . . . in perils in the sea. . . .'

[3] The *Historia Navalis* of Sir Thomas Ryves, published 1629–40, covers the ground from Noah to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. There is a copy in the Pepysian Library [No. 1824].

[4] Hill House at Chatham, kept for the use of the navy, is often referred to in Pepys's *Diary*.

Reflect upon the present difficulty, through the ignorance and supineness of its Governors (though men of trade), of keeping the King's new Mathematical Foundation,[1] notwithstanding the ample maintenance provided for it, and particularly their frequent objecting to the children's learning Latin, or even more mathematics, or better writing than they say boys abroad do set out commonly with and yet make good seamen; neither considering the ill effects of that general want of literature in our best sea-commanders and masters, nor the charge his Majesty has been pleased to put himself to for this Foundation to remedy it.

Observe the order of succession of the great Companies of London, as to their time of being incorporated.

Q[*uaere*] the saint addressed to by the Catholics upon occasions of peril, etc., at sea, and what churches, etc., have been dedicated here or in other countries thereto.

It is said that the Gothic method of building was anciently and does at this day appear to have prevailed most in England in our great buildings.

Q[*uaere*] the history of the ship-worm in general, and particularly at home at Portsmouth, remembering what old Commissioner Pett says thereof in his Journal.[2]

Regulation of cabins done in my time.[3]

[1] See note on p. 50 above.

[2] See the *Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (ed. W. G. Perrin, N.R.S. Publications, vol. li.), p. 145.

[3] For an account of the establishment of cabins adopted October 16, 1673, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 189.

Captain May,[1] once the King's commander, is left the King's service and is grown rich.

Had we been ever considerable at sea, we have had great men enough, our Admirals, to have raised the credit of our naval service more than it was.

Our Brethren at Trinity House generally say that the Dutch would give twice the duty collected for their light upon Scilly rather than it should be put out again.

Remember Dr. Gale's note given me in writing upon the word *versoria*.[2]

The ridiculous pageants of ships and trade exposed upon the Lord Mayor's Days.

Isaackson in his Chronology [3] takes notice of a place in Athenaeus, Lib. 5, cap. 11, about a great ship built by Hiero called the Alexandria, whose main-mast, he says, was brought out of Britain. But Dr. Gale tells me that it is a mistake in applying the word to Britain which ought to be to a place of a name of like sound in Italy. *Vide* the place for things otherwise useful.

Observe that in my Lady Compton's [4] old list of ships, made in the late King's time,[5] the Trinity

[1] Captain Richard May held no command between 1668 and 1682. On this Charnock writes: 'He appears to have retired from the service for a considerable time, but for what reason we are unacquainted' (*Biog. Nav.* i. 172).

[2] See note on p. 98 above.

[3] Henry Isaacson (1581–1654), the theologian and chronologer, published in 1633 his famous chronology entitled *Saturni Ephemerides*.

[4] See note on p. 8 above.

[5] This is the List of Ships 'propounded by the Trinity masters and established by his Majesty on the 6th of April, 1633,' a contemporary copy of which is in the Admiralty Library. See also the facsimile opposite p. 20 of W. H. Mayo, *The Trinity House of London* (1905).

House is said to have been consulted with in the appointing of the number of men and guns mentioned in the said list.

Tangier Mole neglected, and the instances to be given of my personal care for promoting it, and particularly upon the removing it out of Sir Hugh Shomeley's management into Mr. Shere's.[1]

MSS. from Mr. Nott, being a project for a land-militia in Queen Mary's time,[2] has many sea-notes worthy collection.

Q[uaere] the history of Kempthorne's fight with the French in the Straits,[3] and his being loaden only with bass-ropes, to the surprise of the Frenchman that took him, when he found that an Englishman would venture his life so hazardously for straw.

Sir Richard Haddock or Sir J[ohn] N[arbrough] tells me that had not the ship which was sent by Oliver with spades and wheel-barrows been taken, he had certainly taken Gibraltar [4] and made it an island ; as it seems an oversight of great importance in the French that they do not now do it.

[1] Sir Hugh Cholmley, engineer of the Mole at Tangier, was superseded in 1676 by Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Shere (E. M. G. Routh, *Tangier*, 1661–1684, p. 354). Pepys was Treasurer for Tangier from 1665 to 1679 or 1680.

[2] See note on p. 107 below.

[3] Captain Kempthorne's gallant but unsuccessful defence of the Eastland Merchant against the ' famous rover ' Papachine, referred to in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1658–59, p. 180. John Prince, in the *Worthies of Devon*, 1701 (p. 437), gives an account of the action with ' Popochiene (vulgarly Papachini), a Knight of Malta, who then commanded a stout ship of the King of Spain's.'

[4] An account of the Gibraltar project of 1656 is given in Corbett, *England in the Mediterranean*, 1603–1713, i. 323 ff. The design to ' cut this neck of land to make Gibraltar an island ' is referred to on p. 325 n.

The miscarriage of our East India Company ships of their encounter with the Dutch in India some few years since. Of which Mr. Houblon has given me a written narrative.[1]

Take notice of Sir John Narbrough's going on shore upon the Island of Lampadocia and his observations upon it, which I have by me in writing.[2]

Mr. Nott tells me that Mr. Pitt's new atlas [3] has the very Dutch words and Dutch arms not taken out of the maps, and [the] D[uke] of Y[ork]'s taking notice to Pitt (when he presented it to him) of the maps being of too small and close a letter, who answered, Yes, but that they had a very fair margin.

Look over the first volume of D'Aveti's six volumes of the World [4]; things being in it very useful.

Read Geraldus his chapter *de Navigiis*.[5]

Mr. Houblon tells me that the Banians do come to our Factory at Surrat, and take notice of our ships, and build in imitation thereof so well

[1] Perhaps the engagement of August 22, 1673, near Madras. Three accounts of this among the Rawlinson MSS. (A. 185, ff. 386, 388, 390) may very well have been supplied to Pepys by James Houblon.

[2] Narbrough's Journal on board the Fairfax in 1672 and 1673 is in the Pepysian Library (*Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, pt. i. p. 17). The island referred to must be Lampedusa, west of Malta.

[3] Mr. Nott, 'the famous bookbinder,' is referred to in Pepys's *Diary*, March 12, 1668–69. The *English Atlas* of Moses Pitt began to appear in 1680, and was therefore new at the date of this entry (1681). It was based on the maps in the *Novus Atlas* of Jan Janzoon (Jansonius) published at Amsterdam in 1658.

[4] Pierre D'Aveti's *Description Générale du Monde* was published at Paris in 1643.

[5] In the Rolls edition of Giraldus Cambrensis there is no chapter with this title.

as that at sea one cannot tell ours from theirs but by the narrowness of the cloths in their sails, etc. He refers me to Captain Shomeley,[1] and will procure me an account of the Indian shipping in anything I shall in writing demand about it.

Get [2] from Sir William Petty [2] the history of his double-bottomed ships,[3] and the like of Mr. Shish that built them.

Enquire after Marthusius mentioned by Spelman and others for King Edgar's Admiral.[4]

Examine and compare the dates, epistles, and prefaces of every of Mr. Seller's books [5] and the King's declaration at the beginning of his *English Pilot* and *Atlas*, all in assertion of this being the first work of that kind ever done in England, and our backwardness to give any information touching the sea ; as also our being outdone by the Dutch, and Seller's owning his own great mistake in copying out the Dutch leagues in his new maps instead of the English.

Enquire also among Seller's antagonists what they have to reproach him with in his undertakings.

Complete my lists both of English and French Admirals.[6]

Consult Montgomery well for the true state

[1] Probably Cholmley.

[2] These four words are a correction in Pepys's own hand.

[3] Papers relating to Sir William Petty's 'new-built sluice-bottomed vessel' are copied into vol. vi. of Pepys's *Miscellanies* (pp. 1–30), and the Pepysian Library also contains two coloured drawings of it (*Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, pt. i. p. 69) ; but all these relate to the later experiment of 1684.

[4] See p. 66 above. [5] See pp. 11 and 28 above.

[6] Two lists of English Admirals are copied into Pepys's *Miscellanies* (vol. iv. and vol. viii.) ; see *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, pt. i. pp. 44 and 53.

which he excellently gives of our Navy in the Queen's time, 1570.[1]

Note the general smallness of the ships our first discoverers set out with.

Examine Judge Hales's MSS. left to Lincoln's Inn and to his executors, and enquire about Dr. Trumball's information therein.[2]

[3] *Q*[*uaere*] the terms of the Companies of Watermen and Surgeons, incorporations relating to the King's service at sea.

What imperfections, if any, to be found in our maps of the Spanish Invasion in [the] D[uke of] Y[ork]'s hands.

Ditto whether there be any or no to be discovered in the oldest Spanish sea-charts which I have, or can meet with of the King's or elsewhere.

Our own tide-tables but newly mended.

Borrow the Spanish *Norte de la Navigacion* or other sea-books of Sir John Matthews.[4]

[1] 'Mountgomery's Book of the Navy, written 1570 and 1588; with a Project for a Land Militia, addressed to King Philip, husband to Queen Mary, in the year 1557 or 1558' is in the Pepysian Library (*ib.* p. 5), and another copy of the Project is in *Miscellanies*, i. 31. Both are in the British Museum.

[2] Sir Matthew Hale left many of his MS. treatises to Lincoln's Inn and the rest to his eldest grandson. Dr., afterwards Sir William, Trumbull, appears two years later in Pepys's Tangier Diary of 1683 as judge-advocate of the fleet. In 1695 he became a Secretary of State.

[3] This and the two following entries all depend grammatically upon the word *quaere*.

[4] Probably John Mathews, a London merchant, knighted 1677. There is a work in the Pepysian Library [No. 2159], by José de Veitia Linage, entitled 'Norte de la contratacion de las Indias occidentales' (1672).

Examine Grimston's *General History of Spain*,[1] page 1239, for the discourse previous to their invasion in '88, and particularly their insisting upon our ignorance in the use of the harquebus, and our being weaker at sea now than heretofore, etc., worthy note.

Q[*uaere*] is not the French list of Admirals more perfect than ours ? And came not that office among their *noblesse* before ours ?

Mr. Evelyn tells me of Guicchiardin's[2] giving an account of a long fight in which there was but one man killed, and he trod to death.

N[avy] O[fficer]s' houses to be near the Office.

Q[*uaere*] the matter of fact touching the King of Denmark's being made to strike at his coming into the Downs.

Q[*uaere*] whence had young Mr. Evelyn his notes at the end of his father's *History of the Dutch War*,[3] giving an account of De Wit's instructions to their Ambassador here about the business of the flag.

Q[*uaere*] the flag made by Sir William Dugdale for the Lady Mary and the Prince of Orange to wear on shipboard.[4]

Enquire into the truth of fact in what Mr. Speed says in the end of Queen Mary's Life touching a fire in the Royal Navy.[5]

[1] Edward Grimstone's *General History of Spain* was published in 1612.

[2] Probably Francis Guicciardini (1482–1540), the author of a history of the wars of Italy.

[3] On the lost MS. of Evelyn's *History of the Dutch War* see the Introduction to Austin Dobson's edition of his *Diary*, pp. l–lii.

[4] This flag is described in the *Admiralty Journal* (N.R.S., vol. lvii.), p. 550.

[5] John Speed, *History of Great Britain* (edition of 1627), p. 856.

Hollinshed tells of two ships, viz. the Salamander and the Unicorn (one given them by the French and the other built by themselves), taken and brought hither from the Scots at the taking of Lyth.[1]

He also takes notice of our harquebusiers at this fight there,[2] answerable to what is said on that subject in my MSS. Discourse to King Philip.[3]

Sir Thomas Heggins fit to be advised with about the naval methods at Venice.[4]

Dr. Gale and Mr. Henshaw[5] to be advised with upon a book the latter has of the Laws of Jutland, wherein the latter tells me it appears that the same provision has been made there by privileges or possessions granted to places upon account of maintaining force at sea which we have here in our Cinque Ports.

Sir Joseph Williamson tells me that he has a Journal-Book of our Great Commission of the Admiralty in the late King's time,[6] and (as I think)

[1] This episode in connexion with the taking of Leith in 1544 is mentioned in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, iii. 837.

[2] The reference is to a different occasion—to the first landing of the English: see Holinshed, iii. 835.

[3] Probably the 'Project for a Land Militia addressed to King Philip, husband to Queen Mary' referred to in the note on p. 107 above.

[4] Sir Thomas Higgons (1624–91), diplomatist, the translator of Busenello's *Prospective of the Naval Triumph of the Venetians over the Turk* (1658).

[5] See note 5 on p. 126 below.

[6] Probably the Special Commission of 1618; this continued until 1628, and therefore came into the reign of Charles I. A copy of the report of the Commission is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2735], on p. 47 of which is a memorandum signed by Pepys recording 'that the original books . . . remain in the Paper Office in the custody of Joseph Williamson, Esq., where he lately gave me the perusal of them, and of which Sir William Coventry having heretofore taken copies, and from thence procured the following transcripts.'

a collection of estimates of the Office of the Ordnance, which he tells me I shall have the perusal of.

Mr. Evelyn in his *Fumifugium* takes notice of a statute anciently here, prohibiting the burning of heath in our West Country for the sake of the King's vines in Gascony.[1]

Search our statutes about the militia and harquebuses, with reference to my MSS. Discourse to King Philip.[2]

Sir Richard Haddocke and Sir A. Deane enlarge much upon the adventurousness and knowledge of the Dutch in turning out of the River of Thames as they did with their fleet. Get them to describe it in writing.

Q[*uaere*] of Sir A[nthony] D[eane] what it was that Carr [3] told us upon something relating to this subject touching one Lieutenant James.

Carr at the same time gave us an account of the defectiveness of the laws of England for the keeping of peace and good order among seamen, as he finds upon occasion of their unruliness when they come into Holland where he is, and says that

[1] 7 Jac. I, c. 17; but this does not prohibit 'moor-burning' in the West Country, but in the counties of York, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, Derby, Notts, and Leicester at 'unseasonable times of the year.' Vines are not mentioned in the statute, but Evelyn notes a report which had reached him that some parts of France had complained 'of being infested with smokes driven from our maritime coasts, which injured their vines in flower.'

[2] See note on p. 107 above.

[3] Possibly the William Carr, an Englishman resident in Holland, who in 1673 was offering to act as a purveyor of intelligence to the Government but was not encouraged (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1673–75, p. 61).

the Dutch States do in all causes of difference between our seamen and their masters favour the seamen.

He says that De Wilder, Secretary of the Admiralty there, has his office for life, and is an office of great value and credit.

He says he gave [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] a collection in writing of all the principal matters, proceedings, and establishments relating to the Dutch Admiralty.

He laughs at the regulations pretended to by our Trinity House for the government of our seamen compared with the Dutch, both for their scantiness and want of authority from Parliament.

He promises to send me over the by-laws of Holland and France upon this subject, in order to our getting something like thereunto confirmed here.

He says that Tyrrel and Shepheard[1] were the great discoverers of Dutch ships in the last war.

Sir Robert Southwell[2] tells me that there was 13 East India ships at once in the port of Kinsale in the year 1673, whereof 9 English and 4 Dutch, besides 50 West Indiamen, 2 from Guinny, and a great convoy of men-of-war of our own.

He tells me also that Prince Rupert came in

[1] John Shepheard of Rotterdam returned to England with his family at the beginning of the war (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1672–73, p. 585), and probably brought information about the Dutch ships.

[2] Sir Robert Southwell the diplomatist was the son of Robert Southwell of Kinsale; in 1677 he had succeeded his father as Vice-Admiral of Munster.

there in February 1648[–9] and stayed till October 1649, when he escaped thence to Lisbon with 15 men-of-war ; the whole remainder of ships then in allegiance to the King being come thither from Holland, and were blockt up there by Blake and Penn in the Bay of the Old Head [1] for several months with a great squadron.

He refers me to *Pacata Hibernia* [2] for what he thinks may be found there relating to this port or any other sea-occurrences in that kingdom about the time of that History.

Sir Phinees Pett tells me that he met Prince Rupert turning into the River through the narrow seas with the Royal Sovereign ; observing thereupon not only the extraordinary quality of that great ship for working but the no less rashness of the Prince in venturing her ; who asking Sir P. P. what he thought the Trinity House would say to see the ship [so] doing, Sir P. P. answered that he believed they would say his Highness was mad. Whereto the Prince replied, ' I believe so too.' Sir P. P. noting that if the ship had by chance missed staying never so little she must have been lost,[3] and then what would have been said both of ship and pilot ?

[1] Old Kinsale Head is the southern limit of Kinsale Harbour.

[2] *Pacata Hibernia*, supposed to have been written by Sir Thomas Stafford from materials bequeathed to him by George Carew, Earl of Totnes, who as President of Munster 1600–03 put down the Irish Rebellion of O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, was published in 1633. Kinsale is specially referred to in the full title of the work.

[3] Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton thinks that this is an exaggeration. No doubt, had the ship missed stays, she would have gone aground ; but as she could not have been turning into the River except on a rising tide, and presumably with fine weather, she would probably have come off again without difficulty or damage.

December the 31st, 1681. Sir P[hineas] P[ett] and Sir John Narbrough dining with me, observe how Captain Russel[1] (who has been long at difference with Admiral Herbert in the Straits, even to the being provoked to desire to come home, and in order thereto to write to the Admiralty in complaint of his ship in these words, that she sailed like a haystack, and upon which the Admiralty have sent order for his coming home), has come to a good understanding with the Admiral and is gone from Cales[2] (where our whole squadron is publicly said, both Mr. Houblon and Walbank telling me so, lately [3]to have kept its[3] rendezvous against the coming in of the Plate Fleet with plate to Genoa) making shift on this occasion to find legs to his haystack.

Memorandum. That even Moxon's six Scripture maps[4] are taken from the Dutch and are infinitely inferior to them, as appeared to me upon my search for a set thereof at the White Horse against St. Sepulcher's, where I chose to buy the Dutch. *Q.* after other instances of the same sort of any other kind or profession. For the Dutch cutting of maps as a trade, and the world receiving it as so, no wonder if to advance this their trade they (as all others do) use all means to have and do the best therein.

[1] Edward Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford, was appointed in 1676 to the command of the Reserve, one of Sir John Narbrough's Mediterranean squadron; during Narbrough's absence Vice-Admiral Arthur Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, was in command of the ships in the Straits. The 'haystack' was probably the Newcastle, an old ship of 1653, to which Russell was appointed in 1680.

[2] Cadiz.

[3] These four words are inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[4] Joseph Moxon (1627–1700), the hydrographer and mathematician, published *Maps for the Bible.*

Sir William Godolphin [1] refers me to Herodotus for a passage wherein he distrusts the truth of some relation of a voyage at sea, because it speaks of their having their shadow pass round on each side of the reporter, as not then being aware that he that crosses the Equinoctial must have his shadow pass so.

Ditto to two voyages made by Hollanders towards the north, recounted by Varenius in his *Geographia*.[2]

Sir Leonel Jenkins [3] told the King (myself attending) of a tradition he has met with somewhere (telling me that he thought it was in my Lord Bacon's or some other public History) that when King Henry the 7th built his Chapel at Westminster, he built also a great ship called the Rose, which is said to have cost him as much money as the Chapel, and perished by shipwrack somewhere in the River of Thames.[4]

The King at the same time took occasion of inlarging upon the goodness and capacity of the port of Rye in former times, before so much ground was drained from the sea, and would be so again if those grounds were drowned again, as at his being once there he says the Mayor of the town did once make earnest suit to him that they might.

[1] Sir William Godolphin was English Ambassador at Madrid from 1671 to 1678. Pepys refers to him in the *Diary* (February 10, 1667–68) as 'a very pretty and able person, a man of very fine parts.'

[2] The *Geographia Generalis* of Bernard Varenius (*d.* 1660), a Dutch physician, was published in Cambridge in 1672.

[3] Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Admiralty Court, had been appointed in 1680 a Secretary of State. He is often referred to as 'Lionel' in the Pepysian papers.

[4] This story is not to be found in Bacon's *Henry VII*, and there was no ship of the time called the Rose.

The King at the very same time shewed me a very neat leather case designed on purpose for my late Lord of Warwick [1] his putting up of draughts of ships and instruments and blank vellums for drawing ; the same being furnished with draughts of a ship of every rate according to the dimensions and built [2] of his time, being extremely different from those now used, though so little a time since. Which begat also a discourse of the great improvement of the art of shipbuilding since the King came in ; he being pleased to say, and most truly, that he has ever made it his business to try all ways for the improving of that matter, so as he believes (as I have heard him often say) that there is little left to be added by the shipwright in his craft, whatever may be by the boatswain, as to proportion, shape, and placing of masts, sails, riggings, etc.

Sir Richard Haddock and Sir John Narbrough did few days since (December 31, 1681) [3] tell me that the whole Navy Board is fully convinced of the dangerous consequence (so often of late years suggested, but never till now believed) of lead-sheathing, in the eating of the rudder[4]-irons, bolt-heads, and all other ironworks contiguous to it. So as they are come to a final conclusion of ripping off all the lead-sheathing now upon his Majesty's ships.[5] Which upon my mention of it this day, January 5th, 1681 [–2], to the King, he owns himself fully satisfied in, though entirely at a loss what

[1] Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, was the Parliamentary Lord High Admiral 1643–49.

[2] See note on p. 18 above.

[3] Perhaps at the dinner-party referred to on p. 113 above.

[4] MS. ' ruther.'

[5] For the effect of lead-sheathing on ironwork, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. ii. pp. xxxiv, 184 ; vol. iii. p. xlvii. In 1682 the Navy Board finally reported against the use of lead-sheathing.

to impute it to, unless it be the nails, whose composition he knows not but will enquire after, not apprehending that the lead has anything of corrosive in it.

He pleases himself mightily with a design he is now going upon, of building a yacht of the size of the Katherine that shall go with a ketch's sail.[1]

He tells me also that upon a certain occasion of one of the best-sailing yachts of Holland coming over hither, and their Ambassador van Bunninghen[2] his mighty magnifying their quality of sailing, he offered van B. to sail against her or any yacht of Holland with a yacht of his for 500*l.* (though we must own our first learning in this part of shipwrightry from the Dutch), but van B. thought not fit to accept the challenge.

The King observed to me of his own accord the total unsuccessfulness of the present Commissioners of the Admiralty[3] their innovation in the method of controlling storekeepers, as not being able to do by a Commissioner singly what they at first pretended they would do by one man in conjunction with the other part of the Controller's duty relating to the victuallers, adding that while they lay the fault thereof upon Sir Phinees Pett, Sir P. Pett tells [him] that he does by papers every month shew them the reasons of its

[1] This may have been the Fubbs, 1682, or the Isabella, 1683, both built at Greenwich by Sir Phineas Pett.

[2] Conrad van Beuningen was sent as the Dutch envoy to London in 1670.

[3] On the critical attitude of Pepys towards the Admiralty Commission of 1679, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 57 ff. At their appointment there was a Comptroller of Victualling but not of Stores; but they revived the latter office in 1680, and from September of that year it was held by Pett.

not being done, in order to their removing the same.

Mr. Scott the bookseller [1] tells me that there was an old edition of our statutes before Pulton's [2] which had the reasons of every law prefixed or annexed to each statute. *Q.* whether this be to be had and may not be useful as to explaining of matters relating to trade and navigation.

Memorandum. That Sanson's maps and tables [3] gave the first hint to our Mr. Bury to undertake his in the same manner. *Q.* the dates of their several beginnings, and whether Bury's tables and maps are only imitations, or not rather copies, of Sanson's.

Examine what statutes we have at any time had in England, and what the ancient practice of the Common Law has been, relating to piracy.

Call upon Sir Robert Knightly [4] for the account he tells me he had once an occasion of making, and would communicate to me, of the ancient gradual productions and increase of the customs of England.

Note, that Dr. Fuller in his *Holy War*, Book 5, chapter 25, quotes Zuerius Buxhorn's Apology for the Holland Shipping for an Order of Knight-

[1] Robert Scott of Little Britain was known as the greatest bookseller in Europe (Pepys's *Diary*, ed. Lord Braybrooke, edition of 1854, iv. 241 *n.*).

[2] Ferdinando Pulton (1536–1618), the editor of the *Statutes at Large* (1618) and other compilations.

[3] Nicholas Sanson (1600–1667), a French geographer, executed nearly 300 maps and 100 'methodical tables' concerning 'the divisions of the dominions of Christian princes' (Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*). On p. 122 below there is a reference to 'Mr. Bury the globemaker.'

[4] Probably Sir Robert Knightley of Ashtead, Surrey, a London merchant.

hood instituted by the Dutch under the title of Knights of the Scallop-shell.[1]

I may resort to Sir John Narbrough's Journal of the Prince (in Mr. Sothern's hands) [2] for any matter relating to the actions of our fleet under the D[uke] of Y[ork] against the Dutch in the years 1671 and 1672 in which my Lord Sandwich was killed.[3]

Note that I may resort to Mr. Bridgman[4] for the 3 books following, viz.:

1. *De Imperio Maris variorum Dissertationes, cum Praefatione* Joach. Hagemeieri; J.C., Francofurti, 1663.[5]

2. *De Dominio Genuensis Reipub. in Mari Ligustico.* Petrus Baptista Burgus, 1641.[6]

3. *De Dominio Maris.* Gulielm. Wellwood. Cosmopoli, 1615.[7]

It is evident from the printed account of it, published about two or three years since by a gunner (and which I have by me [8]), that in the

[1] See p. 90, 90 *n.* above.

[2] Pepys must have acquired this MS. from James Sotherne, the Clerk of the Acts, as it is in the Pepysian Library.

[3] Narbrough's Journal in the Prince is from January 7, 1671[–2] to September 18, 1672. Lord Sandwich was killed in the action of May 28, 1672.

[4] See note on p. 147 below.

[5] Joachim Hagemeierus was the author of several legal works, including *De Auctoritate Juris Civili et Canonici* published at Frankfurt in 1663.

[6] Published at Rome.

[7] William Welwood, Professor of Mathematics and Law at St. Andrew's. His *Abridgement of all Sea-Lawes* was published in 1613, and the Latin version of that part of it which referred to the question of maritime supremacy referred to in the text appeared in January 1616 under the title *De Dominio Maris* . . .

[8] This does not appear to be in the Pepysian Library.

Queen's time they did not depend upon any defence they could make against the Spaniards in '88 by sea, but did consult the best way of securing themselves against them upon their making a descent upon us on land.

Observe also that in '88, though there was a nobleman Admiral, they were fain to make two plain tarpaulins, Drake and Hawkyns, their Vice- and Rear-Admirals, notwithstanding there were a great many men of quality in the fleet, and more followed them in ships hired by themselves. But of what service their inexperience could be (more than to shew their prowess) is easy to be judged.

Recollect how unskilfully and to no purpose the enquiry was managed in Parliament against Brouncker[1] about the fleet's slackening sail in their pursuit of the Dutch, *anno* 1665.

Get a general view of all the proclamations that are to be found and other Acts of State at any time heretofore made relating to sea-affairs.

Collect any imputations that have, either with or without reason, been laid upon admirals, flag-officers, or commanders, either of cowardice or ill-conduct, either by vulgar censures or factions among themselves, observing the consequences thereof which either really have or might have attended the same.

Observe in Sir Edward Coke's chapter of

[1] Henry 'Brunckard,' the brother of Pepys's colleague, William, Viscount Brouncker, was expelled the House of Commons and impeached in 1668 as the result of a Parliamentary enquiry (*Commons' Journals*, ix. 82, 85, 86, 96).

Roberds men how unskilfully he speaks of Robin Hood's Bay in a nameless river in Yorkshire.[1]

Take notice of Mr. Bury's maps done in English in imitation of Sanson's French.[2]

Recollect Mr. Harbord's late ill-management for the King in his report about the value of Well-close, making it (as I take it) worth not above 10*l.* or 20*l.* per annum, that is now sold by the King for 3500.

Hollinshed, p. 812, B. 60, tells us in the year 1512 of a ship then in being called the Sovereign.[3] Observe also to ships of what burthen they in those days gave the epithet of 'tall.'

Observe also many other excellent hints to be found in him in the same place about two captains allowed to a ship, and those landmen also.[4] Our fleets being frighted from Brest by the French preparations of vessels to burn them. The proportion of our fleet to the French at that time, viz. in Henry the 8th's time, when Sir Walter Raleigh in the beginning of his Essays of Shipping says our naval force was at the strongest.[5] Note here also the names of several ships then in being.

[1] Chapter xc of Coke's *Third Institute* is entitled 'Against Roberdsmen,' *i.e.* followers of Robin or Robert Hood. In this there is a reference to Robin Hood's Bay 'in the River of —— in Yorkshire.'

[2] See note on p. 117 above.

[3] Holinshed, iii. 572. She was a ship of 600 tons burden.

[4] Sir Charles Brandon and Sir Henry Guildford, the 'two captains' allowed to the Sovereign, were both soldiers of distinction. The former was afterwards Duke of Suffolk.

[5] This is probably a vague recollection of a passage in *A Discourse of the Invention of Ships* . . . : 'A land which can never be conquered whilst the kings thereof keep the dominion of the seas; which dominion I do not find that it was ever absolute till the time of Henry the Eighth' (Raleigh, *Works*, viii. 321).

Q[*uaere*] what do our laws mean by the Four Seas,[1] and whether children which would be legitimate while the father is within the Four Seas shall not be so though he be upon them; since the King is said to be equally proprietor thereof as he is of the land?

W[illiam] H[ewer] tells me of an old book he has which treats of the first instructions for the government of the Navy, wherein he says frequent references are made to a certain book of the Lord Privy Seal's. Enquire into both.

My Lady Deane tells me that a very little before Sir John King the lawyer his death[2] she sold him for 20*l.* a great parcel of old writings relating to public matters of several sorts, and among them (as she thinks) some belonging to naval affairs. Enquire after them.

Sir A. Deane tells me that at Sir Charles Caesar's house in Hertfordshire he lately met with a great many volumes of Admiralty and Naval Collections formerly belonging to his grandfather, Sir Julius Caesar[3]; all worthy perusal, and particularly a large report he therein met with of the Trinity House about the year 1609,[4] shewing the great decay of England's shipping and power at sea between that and the year 1588.

[1] See note on p. 215 below.

[2] Sir John King (1639–1677), attorney-general to the Duke of York.

[3] Charles Caesar of Bennington, Herts, knighted October 4, 1671. He was one of the fifteen children of Sir Charles Caesar (1590–1642) and the grandson of the more famous Sir Julius Caesar (1558–1636).

[4] Vol. ii. of Pepys's *Miscellanies* (Pepysian MSS., No. 2870) contains a 'remonstrance . . . of the decay of shipping' (1602) and a petition 'touching the maintenance of . . . shipping (1609), both transcribed from Sir Julius Caesar's library.

Mr. Gifford the parson did assert at Cloth-workers' Hall, and promised to tell me his authority at his next seeing me, that the Britons did not know this country to be an island till the time of Agrippa.[1]

Examine the charters of London for what may be found therein relating to the sea or navigation, and their service by sea to the Crown; as also touching their fishing and affairs at London Derry in Ireland, for which they have always a standing committee in their Common Council.

Speak to Mr. Bury the globemaker[2] to be informed what sea-maps have been made in France.

Enquire after our Parliament-men that take shorthand notes, and particularly one Mr. Grey of which Sir Thomas Meres informs me.[3]

Knox in his 2nd preface to his *History of Scotland*[4] is said by Mr. Evelyn to have two or three lines about brigantines worthy my view.

Sir W. Raleigh's last paper before his death is to purge himself of a calumny he had met with of having a conspiracy with France.[5]

[1] This must have been Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa (*d.* 12 B.C.), who commanded the Roman fleet at Actium, and carried out a survey of the Empire, with a chart of its whole area.

[2] See pp. 117, 120 above.

[3] Anchitell Grey (*d.* 1702) was the compiler of Grey's *Debates*. Sir Thomas Meres (*d.* 1715) was one of the members of the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84.

[4] David Buchanan's preface to his edition (1644) of John Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, derives 'brigantine' from the Brigantes, whom he associates with 'brigands.'

[5] 'Sir Walter Ralegh's answer to some things at his death,' appended to his 'Apology for his Voyage to Guiana' (*Works*, viii. 506).

Dr. Castle, the greatest instrument in the compiling the Polyglot Bible,[1] which is the work of that kind the most valuable in the world and most honourable to England, is said to have been very little provided for in our Church since the King's coming-in, though he wrought himself blind in this service.

Observe the difference between the beauty of Camden's original maps of England and Bleau's copies thereof in his Atlas.[2]

Purchas his work [3] was sold for 4 or 5*s*. before the Fire of London, being valued but as so much waste paper.

Remember Mr. Evelyn's rectifying Bab. May's [4] low opinion of his book by obliging him to read one volume of it.

ADMIRANDA [5]

In my *Atlas Italiae* something appears worth observing out of Pliny touching a ship, in the chapter about transporting of obelisks.[6]

[1] Edmund Castell (1606–1685) the Semitic scholar, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, assisted Bryan Walton in his *Biblia Polyglotta*, published in 1657.

[2] William Jansen Blaeuw (1571–1638), a famous compiler of maps and charts, prepared his *Theatrum Mundi* in fourteen volumes, which was published in 1663–71 by his sons after his death. Evelyn in his *Diary* (i. 39) refers to a visit on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1641, to his shop at Amsterdam 'to buy some maps, atlasses, and other works of that kind.'

[3] *Purchas his Pilgrimes* was published in 1625. Perhaps this entry helps to explain the rarity of the book.

[4] Baptist May (1629–1698) was Keeper of the Privy Purse to Charles II. He was a friend of Evelyn's.

[5] This heading is inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[6] This *Atlas Italiae* is not now in the Pepysian Library, but it may be one of the books which Pepys weeded out.

Old Norris, our mathematician,[1] says that the Dutch do exceed us in their books of navigation, and that in a little time the French are like to do so too by the encouragement given by their King, while (he says) we daily grow worse.

He would have a school erected on purpose for the instructing of those the King means to entertain as reformadoes [2] before they enter into the service.

In the division made by King Edward 6th and Bishop Ridley of the several sorts of poor intended to be provided for in his donation of the hospitals,[3] provision is made for the soldier and not for the seaman.

The Lady Ramsey [4] also in her Charity to Christ's Hospital did the like.

Sir Thomas Gresham also in his erecting of several Lectures at Gresham College [5] could provide so far as even for Music, and yet (though a merchant) could overlook Navigation, and in that very age wherein one would have thought it could least have been forgotten.

Christ's Church appears in Stow's *Survey of London* to have been made use of after the Suppression of Monasteries for a storehouse for

[1] Perhaps Richard Norris, mariner, who had published in 1670 *Observations on the Tides*. In 1685 another work by him appeared, entitled *The Sum or Aggregate of Secants, with the true Division of Meridians in the Sea Chart*.

[2] A 'reformado' was a volunteer serving without a commission.

[3] This is referred to in Holinshed, iii. 1062.

[4] See E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, pp. 268–70.

[5] The seven Gresham Lecturers were to discourse upon Divinity, Astronomy, Geometry, Music, Law, Medicine, and Rhetoric.

French prize goods, till it was applied to the use it is now put to.[1]

Stow quotes an old account out of Fitz-Stevens, very ancient, of the imitation of sea-fights used by the Londoners upon the Thames in their public festivals.[2]

Discourse with young Collins of the effects of his late survey taken this last year, 1681, of our western sea-coasts.[3]

Consult also Stow's report in his said *Survey of London* of an Act of Parliament in Henry the 8th's time for the preserving of the River of Thames, and about the ballastage, wherein Sir Thomas Spert is mentioned, and an ordinance of the City to that purpose.[4]

Reflect on the scandalous barges made of lighters upon my Lord Mayor's Day.

Ditto upon the fabulous story of Friar Bacon's brazen wall about England.[5]

Observe well Sir William Dugdale's report

[1] The reference is to Christchurch, Faringdon (Grey Friars). See Stow (ed. C. L. Kingsford), i. 318.

[2] *Ib.* i. 92.

[3] Captain Greenvile Collins began his survey of the English coasts in 1681. It took seven years to complete, and the maps were not published collectively until 1693.

[4] 27 Henr. VIII, c. 18, 'An Act for the preservation of the River of Thames,' which refers to Sir Thomas Sperte 'now having the office and ordering of and for ballasting for ships.' He is not mentioned in Stow.

[5] See 'The Famous History of Fryer Bacon,' printed in Thoms, *Early Prose Romances*, i. 105. The words 'about England' are added in Pepys's own hand.

of Mountacute Earl of Salisbury's services at sea in Edward the 3rd's time.[1]

Recollect the proceedings of the Dutch in their going to Belle Isle in one of the late wars.

Ditto the like of our own proceedings in the business of the Isle of Rhee.[2]

Q[*uaere*] what countryman was old John a Valle, mentioned in Commissioner Pett's Journal, *anno* 1610, as pilot to the Prince Royal.[3]

Mr. Flamsteed[4] tells me that he has a particular account of their observation of the tides from the captains of the King's yachts.

He refers me also to Mr. Henshaw for an hypothesis concerning tides made by our Herne.[5]

Sir John Hoskins[6] presses me much in my maritime enquiries to be most inquisitive and particular in the business of shipbuilding, as a thing he takes the world to be yet very defective in.

[1] Pepys is probably thinking of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, in 1213 (Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 175). William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury under Edward III, did not render any conspicuous services at sea.

[2] Ré.

[3] When the Prince Royal, 'wholly rigged and made ready to go to Chatham,' set sail to go thither from Woolwich on December 9, 1610, 'old John a Vale was our pilot' (*N.R.S.*: ed. W. G. Perrin, p. 86). He is also called Boatswain Vale, and may very well have been an Englishman.

[4] John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal.

[5] Thomas Henshaw, F.R.S., scientific writer, was French Secretary under Charles II, James II, and William III. 'Our Herne' is probably John Herne the mathematician, author of *Longitude Unvailed, etc.* (1678).

[6] President of the Royal Society 1682–3. The copyist wrote 'Hawkins,' and the correction to 'Hoskins' is in Pepys's own hand.

He says that my Lord Brouncker [1] has something by him upon that subject of his Lordship's own writing.

He says also that Sir Christopher Wren [2] has done the like, but not to communicate it to any but the King, with whom he says it is; shewing the truest figure for any body to pass through the water with.

He says also that Sir William Petty has put together a collection (as it were under the heads of chapters for a work to be writ on that subject) of all the considerations necessary to be taken-in for the rendering a ship qualified to answer the several ends of a ship.[3] And this, he says, Mr. Hook [4] has, or can help me to.

He says that my Lord Brouncker has declared Witsen's Dutch Book of Shipwrightry [5] to be perfectly well writ but for one particular. *Q.* what that one point is.

That Mr. Hooke can supply me with several useful things of his own upon this subject.

That my Lord Brouncker (as he thinks) has a treatise concerning shipbuilding wrought by Sir William Petty.[3]

[1] William, Viscount Brouncker, the first President of the Royal Society.

[2] On Sir Christopher Wren's interest in shipbuilding, see *Private Correspondence of Samuel Pepys* (ed. J. R. Tanner), i. 115–16.

[3] The reference may be to Petty's *Naval Experiments and Discourses*, 1664 (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of Sir William Petty*, p. 318).

[4] Robert Hooke the experimental philosopher, Secretary of the Royal Society 1677–82.

[5] See note on p. 183 below. A copy of Witsen's *Scheeps Bouw* . . . (1671) is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2220].

Q[*uaere*] what authors have writ anything pertinently upon the business of tides.

Enquire after the rest of Sir William Monson's papers from him that printed his account of the naval actions of Queen Elizabeth.[1]

What warrant has Collins [2] for the yacht that attends him in surveying the coasts, with what instructions, and how to be paid.?

Observe the original draught and dimensions drawn by the King's own hand of the yacht building by Sir Phin[eas] Pett at Greenwich, 1682.[3]

Reflections upon the different sorts and degrees of difficulties, hazards, and other circumstances incident to the respective trades and duties of the Mariner and Land-Soldier, in order to a comparison to be made between the same.

Land	Sea
Sieges long, dangerous, and the arts and stratagems employed therein many.	Hindrances from calms and contrary winds.
	Under the care and knowledge of a single pilot.
	Fights longer.
Grenades.	Sands.
Fatigues, long marches, and no beds.	Tides.
Blowings up on both sides.	Winds.
Bodies open to be shot at.	Lee-shores.
Great heats and colds, lying wet.	Night-services.

[1] An excerpt from Monson's *Naval Tracts* had been printed in 1682 under the title 'A True and Exact Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.' The rest of the *Tracts* were first published in 1732 as part of vol. iii. of Churchill's *Voyages*.

[2] See note on p. 125 above. During the period of the survey Collins was in command first of the Merlin yacht and afterwards of the Monmouth yacht.

[3] Either the Fubbs or the Isabella. See p. 116 above.

LAND	SEA
Pay small, and provisions to buy with it.	
Labour in digging.	Greater labour in traversing of guns, trimming of sails, etc.
But one suit of clothes.	
No prizes taken, as at sea.	No plunder.
	No pleasure.
	Their dangers constant, at land but by fits.
Q. Diseases.	*Q.* Diseases.
No help by fresh fish, as at sea.	Fewer offices and consequently fewer encouragements, viz. but 9 or 10 in a ship of 1000 men, whereas in an army one regiment entertains 30 commission-officers, besides staff-officers; as also fewer general officers in a fleet than in an army.
Discoverable in fight, whilst at sea not.	
Q. Surprises.	*Q.* Surprises.
	Shifting of a wind may prevent the greatest prudence, whereas place yourself well once and you are still so.
	Fire.
	Difference of climates for health; whereas at land we serve usually within our own, or nearer it.
	More time and practice goes to the common seaman's knowledge than to a private land-soldier's.
Intelligence more necessary in an army.	Intelligence from shore not certain to find you.
	The captain exposed in the most eminent place of danger.
	Everything about a ship combustible.

Land	Sea
	Every and any one man's negligence sufficient for fire.
	Shifting of sands.
	The master also exposed in the most dangerous place.
	All perish at once by fire, shipwrack, etc.
	Accidents in the night and from dark weather.
	Shortness of provisions (Lord Sandwich's case [1]) and no certain relief to be had at sea; besides a liableness to hindrances from winds and calms in repairing to the place of relief.
	Wounds in sea-fights much more large than those in land; the latter being chiefly flesh-wounds, the former loss of limbs.
At sea medicines are nearer hand, and better provision made for cure than at land.	*Q.* what difference of relief from the Prince for wounds received at land and sea, as to cure and reward.
	No certain knowledge at sea where one is, all being but conjecture, and that a very imperfect one in reference to the East and West, while at land we know where we are.
	Anchors coming home, or ships driven from their anchors.
	Running on board one another in the night.
	Sunken rocks.
	Splinters doing more hurt than shot.
	Springing leaks.
	The worm.

[1] See p. 65 above.

Land	Sea
	The compass being out of order, by knavery, accident, or ill-making.
	Variations of the needle.
	Fire-lights on the coast either ill-placed or ill-kept.
	Buoys either lost or removed.
	Castings up of new sands.
	The performances of pilots and masters subjected by the law to the trials from commanders who generally are ignorant, and in cases of difficulty disown their being accountable for navigation. Instance in the Gloucester.[1]

Colonel Legg[2] discourses of, and will let me see, the settlement of the Master of the Ordnance's place in an army and fleet, being (as he says) the third place.

He says he will do the like concerning a settlement about the Lord High Admiral's Council, which were (as he tells me) the Vice and Rear-Admiral of England, the Master of the Ordnance, with some one other person and two Commissioners of the Navy. And that this was urged against the Duke of Buckingham in their charging him with his engrossing an absolute power in the Navy.[3]

[1] In 1682, when James, Duke of York, went to Scotland by sea, his ship, the Gloucester, was wrecked off the mouth of the Humber through the carelessness of the pilot.

[2] Colonel George Legge, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, had been Master of the Ordnance since 1682.

[3] The first article of the impeachment of 1626 had accused Buckingham of engrossing offices (Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, i. 306), and the remonstrance of 1628 had urged that it was unsafe 'that so great power as rests in him by sea and land should be in the hands of any one subject whatsoever' (*ib.* i. 625).

He tells me also of a printed book in 4to about the year 1568 containing all the orders and ordinances relating to sea-affairs.[1]

The like he will shew me of a collection he has made of all the papers relating to Prince Rupert's guns.[2]

The like concerning the history of our great guns in general, as to England's having the sole manufacture of them, and our laws in that particular.

He speaks also of a MSS. collection he has of orders of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time.

The Lord Perth[3] tells me that Fournier's Journal of King James the 5th his voyage about Scotland[4] was written by a Frenchman that happened to attend and serve him in that expedition.

Q[*uaere*] how many and why no more King's commanders can fall to merchants' service at the end of a war; or why they cannot join their purses in partnership and fall to trade themselves, unless it be from the untimely payment of their wages by the King?

The King in discourse with me at Newmarket[5]

[1] Perhaps William Welwood's *Abridgement of all Sea-Lawes* (4to), published in 1613.

[2] On Prince Rupert's experiments in gunnery, see *D.N.B.*, xlix. 416.

[3] James Drummond, fourth Earl of Perth. See *D.N.B.*, xvi. 29.

[4] In 1540 James V set out on a voyage round the north and west coasts of Scotland. His pilot, Alexander Lindsay, left an account of the expedition, which was published in Paris in 1718 by Nicolas d'Arville. On Fournier, see note on p. 50 above.

[5] Pepys was at the Court at Newmarket in October 1680: see p. 32 above.

about Collins's present business of surveying our sea-coasts [1] does say that we never had our coasts so well laid down, and that therefore he designs to encourage Collins in the work, and to that purpose has subscribed to his propositions; the King declaring how ignorant our forefathers have ever been therein, and instances in Captain Golden (who he said hanged himself, or at least was found hanged in a wood: *Q.* the story) who had been several times master to the Indies (I think he said), and did always chalk, not being able to be made to understand by the King himself which was East and which West upon the polar map made by Captain Wood.[2]

Ignorant Commissioners chosen into the Admiralty and Navy in this and in all former ages; and consider the cause thereof, whether it was not principally from our constant want of persons of quality that were knowing in sea-affairs.

Examples extraordinary to be at this day found in the Commission of the Admiralty, both for ignorance, debauchery, and other defects.[3]

Navigation and sea-discoveries were in a great degree new in the time of Queen Elizabeth and before, and therefore no wonder if their journals of voyages were better kept and more valued than now-a-days.

[1] See note on p. 125 above.

[2] On Captain John Wood's voyage in 1676 for the discovery of the North-East Passage, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, vol. iii. p. xxiv.

[3] *I.e.* the Commission of 1679–84, of which Pepys was a candid critic (see his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* and his *Private Correspondence*.

Mr. Abraham Hill[1] tells me that on the left hand within Leadenhall, where there was anciently a chapel, he has understood there was a Lecture of Navigation read.[2]

He refers me to Mr. Hooke[3] for a sight of a tripartite indenture heretofore made between the City, the Mercers' Company, and the Professors of Gresham College, where he thinks I shall find mention made of navigation.

Read the Life of Andrea Dorias.[4]

Mr. Hill[1] tells me that the Voyages of Americus Vesputius[5] are in the Royal Society.

He directs me also to enquire after Mr. Collins the accomptant[6] his collection of maritime books and matters.

The trade of a seaman is of much better credit in Holland and enjoys more privileges and encouragements all Europe over, where any navigation is used, than in England,—Mr. Gibson.[7]

He says too that our victuals to our seamen were much better heretofore than now, and our seamen then better contented, though with less wages ; an Englishman's satisfaction being always observed to lie most in his belly.

He observes that Irish meat is very unwholesome, as well as lean, and rots our men.

[1] See note on p. 97 above.
[2] See note on p. 159 below.
[3] See note on p. 127 above.
[4] See note on p. 98 above.
[5] Amerigo Vespucci (1452–1512), the Italian navigator. His journal of his voyages was printed in Latin at Paris in 1532, but French and Italian versions had appeared in 1516 and 1519.
[6] Perhaps so described in order to distinguish him from Captain Collins the hydrographer (see note on p. 125 above).
[7] See note on p. 23 above.

Also that this practice of using worse victuals and ill-paying of short allowance money in the King's service begins to corrupt the merchants' service too. Only the East India Company victuals well, and has grown better therein of late years than formerly; and from that reason among others their navigation is also grown better upon their hands.

All that has been surveyed by ourselves of the coasts of England since our old maps till this of Captain Collins's undertaking has, as far as I can find, amounted to no more than,

1. The Sand-plat and Lynne-water, by the Trinity House.
2. Burlington Bay, by Captain Wood.[1]
3. Isle of Wight and Portsmouth, by Lord Sandwich.
4. Jersey and Gernsey, by Gunman and Phillips about 1680.[2]
5. The land-map to the Sand-plat from Deal to the Thames on Kent-side, and from the Thames to Yarmouth on the other, by Sir Jonas Moore.[3]

Sellers's maps are at the best but copies of the Dutch, with such improvements as he could make therein by private advice upon the observations of single men.

[1] See note on p. 133 above. 'Burlington' is Bridlington.

[2] In 1666 Captain Christopher Gunman had been serving on the Guernsey station (Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*, i. 225): in 1680 he appears to have been commanding the Mary yacht. Henry Philippes was the editor of the *Seaman's Kalendar* (see p. 139 below).

[3] Sir Jonas Moore the mathematician. On his surveying work see Appendix to Book i. of *The English Pilot* by John Seller (1671).

Enquire into the history of our white staves and other bastons [1] in use in England as marks of dignity and office, and why the Lord High Admiral has none ; and see after the original of the silver oar carried before him in the Admiralty Court,[2] and why an oar, that being an ensign not so much of sailing as rowing.

No larger provision is made for the representing the seamen in Parliament than was when all lay in the Cinque Ports, though both in war and peace the business and service of our Navy is become infinitely more than in those days.

Captain Collins [3] says, and did upon view by comparing the maps, shew me by several instances that our sea-coasts were better laid down by Speed [4] than they are in our Waggoner.[5]

Observe (June '82) how little or no choice is to be found at this day, upon several months public enquiry, of any active, much less learned experienced seaman to supply the place of Mathematical Master in Christ's Hospital.[6]

[1] *I.e.* staff of office (*bâton*).

[2] The silver oar, still in use at the High Court of Admiralty as a symbol of jurisdiction. An account of it was given by Sir Travers Twiss in an article entitled 'The Jurisdiction of the Silver Oar of the Admiralty' (*Nautical Magazine*, 1877, pp. 572–85). He held that it dated back at least to Henry VII, and parts of it perhaps to Edward III, but Mr. W. Senior in his article 'The Mace of the Admiralty Court' (*Mariner's Mirror*, 1924, pp. 49–52) disputes this. For an account of other similar oars elsewhere, see the *Archaeological Journal* for 1873 and 1874.

[3] See note on p. 125 above.

[4] On John Speed's numerous maps see *D.N.B.*, liii. 318 f.

[5] See note on p. 12 above.

[6] Dr. Robert Wood had just resigned ; his successor, Edward Pagett, who was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was also without experience of the sea.

Take notice when the granting a Seal to our Trinity House first began, and when Seals in general first took place in Corporations.

Mr. Legg has 3 Naval Discourses in MSS. which I ought to take copies of, viz. Holland, Bourne, Slingsby.[1]

Note that the Admiral of Scotland, as Sir George Mackenzie writes, and did by discourse inform me in Scotland,[2] is no Officer of State, though he be an Officer of the Crown, and yet the highest law lately passed there in favour of him and his Court that ever passed anywhere; and yet again being no Officer of State he has no precedence at all given him from his office.

At the birth of Prince Henry[3] (I think it was) that at Sterling King James is said to have built a Chapel between the day of his birth and christening, and there is a little ship upon wheels wherein the banquet at the christening was brought into the great hall.

Wellwood's Book of the Admiralty Laws is recommended to my reading, as being of good esteem on that subject. He was a Scot, and

[1] William Bourne the mathematician (*d.* 1583) left several MSS., in addition to his published works: one of these is entitled 'A Discourse touching the Queen's Majesty's Ships.' The two 'Discourses of the Navy' by John Hollond, and that by Sir Robert Slyngesbie, have been published by the Navy Records Society (vol. vii.).

[2] On Sir George Mackenzie (1636–91), the founder of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, see *D.N.B.*, xxxv. 142. Pepys had visited Scotland with the Duke of York in 1682.

[3] Henry, Prince of Wales, was born at Stirling, February 19, 1594.

dedicated it jointly to the then Admirals of England and Scotland.[1]

Among the many other odds on the side of the seamen against what can be challenged by the land-men for the difficulties of their trade, this (which the fate of the Gloucester has taught me [2]) is a great one, viz. that the whole safety of the ship, men, officers, and the admiral himself, lie entirely in the hand, skill, diligence, courage, life, or goodwill of one man, the pilot, without having liberty safely to withstand him, though the admiral, even with the concurrence of every commander, master, mate, midshipman, and seaman also (for so was the case in the misfortune of the Gloucester) be of a different mind from the pilot.

I understand at Barwick from Sir Christopher Musgrave [3] that the term of brass-mount or brass-work has been generally the name of some one part in every of the ancient fortified places in England.

Ditto that the great gun at Edenburgh Castle whose name is Meg [4] was taken by the Scots and

[1] *An Abridgement of all Sea Lawes*, by William Welwood, is dedicated to Ludovick, Duke of Lennox; Henry, Earl of Northampton; and Charles, Earl of Nottingham; 'Lords Admirals of England and Ireland, of Scotland and the Isles, and of the Cinque Ports.' The first was Lord High Admiral of Scotland 1591–1624; the second was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports 1604–1614; and the third was Lord High Admiral of England 1585–1618. Welwood's book was first published in 1613, so Pepys's description of them as 'the then Admirals' is correct.

[2] See note on p. 131 above.

[3] Sir Christopher Musgrave was Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance from 1681 to 1687. Pepys must have been with him at Berwick on May 19, 1682, and they received the freedom of Newcastle on or about May 26 (J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, p. 252).

[4] Mons Meg, said to date from 1455.

brought thither from Barwicke, where the mount on which it stood bears the name of Meg-Mount to this day.

Recollect the story told me (I remember) by Colonel Legg about the famous case known among lawyers under the name of the Lord Devonshire's case, about old ships and decayed stores.

I observed that the light upon the Sporn[1] burnt well, and the charge of it seems not to be much regretted by those at Hull, however indirectly it was obtained, and the repeated opinion of the Trinity House of London, and I think Hull, against it; though now an objection is lately occasioned to the continuance of its charge by the sands being removed that made it at first necessary. *Q.* the truth of this removal.

Get and examine Colonel Legg's collection of navy-estimates which he shewed me at sea,[2] and his calculations thereon.

From the name of Tapp now subscribed by Phillips in the *Seaman's Calendar*[3] I would enquire what instances can be found of persons taking to themselves the work of others relating to the sea.

Upon my visiting the two Trinity Houses at Newcastle and Hull, and being made free of the latter,[4] it occurs to me to collect the institution,

[1] On the Spurn Head light see p. 5 *n.* above.

[2] On their voyage to Scotland in 1682.

[3] John Tapp, a writer on navigation, who was also a bookseller, brought out *The Seaman's Kalender* in 1602. An edition published in 1676 describes it as 'the Sea-man's Kalender . . . by John Tap, . . . newly calculated and corrected . . . by Henry Philippes, *Philo-Nauticus*.' A copy of the edition of 1692 is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1142].

[4] See note on p. 138 above.

antiquity, history, and method of them, to be compared with ours at London ; than which that at Hull appears clearly to be much more ancient [1] by many records shewn me thereof, and particularly that wherein the seamen and their wives do join in a written covenant under their hands for an annual contribution towards the relief of such of them as should come to decay.

Sir Ralph De Laval [2] tells me that during the last war he had 20 soldiers allowed him by the King for the securing his house upon the sea-coast.

Recollect by Sir A. Deane the foolish proposition entertained by us from a Dutchman, Captain ——,[3] of building of ships to outsail all the world, upon no other mystery (as they say it at last appears to be) than that of laying the grain of the timber all one way.

The danger of Gernsey and Scilly coming into the hands of the French, as Mr. Legg and Leak [4] think they certainly would if ever any war happened between us ; those of Gernsey having more trade with, and receiving more benefits from, them than us, and therefore declaring more affection to them (at Mr. Legg's late survey thereof), besides their being of the same language, and no impediment to their union but difference of religion.

[1] The Trinity House at Hull is said to have existed from 43 Edw. III (C. R. B. Barrett, *Trinity House*, p. 135).

[2] On Admiral Sir Ralph Delavall see *D.N.B.*, xiv. 317.

[3] See p. 203 below.

[4] Colonel George Legge, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, and Richard Leake, the master-gunner of England, were associated in 1683 in the demolition of the fortifications of Tangier.

Mr. Truman, Clerk of the Trinity House at Hull, among the records before-mentioned[1] shewed me some expressing the being of that House as a body from the 43 of Edward the 3rd.

He tells me also of a remarkable record about the good Fellowship of Sporne, as also about a tame devil.

Q[*uaere*] what privileges have been granted to any sea-towns of England, saving those of the Cinque Ports, equal to what are enjoyed by some land-ones, as particularly Beverley;[2] and examine the several grounds of those privileges where granted to land-towns.

Be sure to examine well all that is to be found in Mr. Camden, Speed, Lambard, or others that have written of our maritime counties, concerning the ancient ports or places of trade there.

Weaver, page 202 of his *Monuments*,[3] quotes Lambard's *Perambulation*[4] for King Lewis of France his offering at the shrine of St. Thomas of Becket, that none might perish between Dover and White Sands.[5]

Ditto page 235.[6] One Sir Richard Guilford served King Henry 7th at sea with 550 seamen

[1] See p. 140 above.

[2] This may refer to the claim of Beverley to a toll-free passage into the Humber (G. Oliver, *History and Antiquities of Beverley*, p. 237).

[3] 'A rich gem offered by King Lewis, who asked and obtained (you may be sure, he buying it so dear) that no passenger betwixt Dover and Whitesand should perish by shipwrack' (John Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 202).

[4] William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* was published in 1576.

[5] Near Brest.

[6] 'Sir Richard Guilford aforesaid served King Henry VII *supra mare cum* 550 *nautis et soldariis per duos menses* 5 Hen. 7' (Weever, p. 235).

and soldiers two months. *Anno* 5 Henry 7th. *Q.* what action was then.

Q[*uaere*], What do we require more of strangers in saluting the King's ships than we do of the King's own subjects in merchant ships, who can be no more thought to need the repeating their acknowledgments of the King's dominion at sea every time they meet a man-of-war than we do by a like salutation to own his dominion at land every time we meet one of the King's Guards on shore? *Q.* therefore whether there can be anything more thought to be in it than an acknowledgment of respect either from ourselves or strangers, and that grounded (as Sir William Petty seems to judge of it, and only so) upon our King's being, at the time of that ceremony's being first challenged, plainly superior to all other princes at that day in these seas, when we were masters of both shores.

Consider what is to be inferred from what I observe of lights formerly built and burning upon our coasts and now extinguisht, particularly that at Corton, which burnt a year and a half about two years since.

Ditto of others built but never lighted, nor likely to be, at Cromar,[1] Flamborough-head, Ferne-Island.

From Colonel Legg's discourse with me I was led to reflect upon, that not only all my trouble and envy in Parliament, but the King's disappointments in all his desires and endeavours there in reference to the Navy, arose from nothing else but the want of knowledge and experience in his Ministers that should have enabled them to

[1] Cromer.

second, improve, and support what was from time to time moved, asserted, and defended by me, and but by me only; there being not one Privy Councillor, Officer of State, Commissioner of the Admiralty or Navy, that ever adventured, or was knowingly prepared to speak, to any one naval business in all the time that I served in Parliament.

Mr. Legg observes that Rye and Winchelsea, both places of mighty trade heretofore, and [the] only places for a fleet of ships to come into between Dover and Portsmouth, have been lately spoiled by the draining of some lands thereabouts.

Look [into] the story of Dunwich on the coast of Suffolk swallowed up by the sea, and said to have been heretofore a great place.

The Charles as well as Prince touched upon the Galloper, and several other great ships when the Prince was lost[1]; but being of less draught of water, went over the sands.

Mr. Legg observes that want, or rather mistake, of intelligence concerning the Dutch fleet being ready to come out and Beaufort being come to Belle Isle, was the fatal cause of the dividing of our fleet in 1666, falling in with the inclinations of our two Admirals to be each of them in command alone.[2]

Collect other instances of want or mistake in intelligence, and their consequences.

[1] The Prince Royal, a 1st-rate, flying the flag of Sir George Ayscue, was lost upon the Galloper on June 3, 1666,—the third day of the great battle off the North Foreland.

[2] In April 1666 Rupert and Monk were placed in joint command of the fleet 'under the belief that Monk's experience and discretion would temper' Rupert's 'headlong courage' (*D.N.B.*, xlix. 414); but the division of the fleet enabled the Dutch to defeat Monk separately while Rupert was in search of the French squadron under Beaufort.

He invites me also to read Flatman's description of a sea-storm out of Petronius.[1]

Captain Leake[2] does by discourse lead me to the contemplating the great importance of Harwich for use, and the security of the King's ships.

Langer-fort was built by my Lord of Warwick, and bears his name at this day by one of its batteries.[3]

Mr. Legg says that Gunman[4] and Leake did differ not only in their judgments concerning Gernsey but even in their draughts of the island, which they took separately by his order and gave him their opinions thereon under their hands.

Captain Birch[5] tells me that the buoy upon Boxy Spits[6] is by his advice removed already from the end it is laid at in the book to another place.

'Tis fit to consider the unreasonableness of expecting that any but a prince should ever bear the charge which is necessary for the taking good description of places and making of true

[1] Thomas Flatman (1637–88), poet and miniature painter. His *Poems and Songs* were first collected in 1674.

[2] See note on p. 140 above.

[3] The fort was begun in 1624 under the orders of Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick, then Lord Lieutenant of Essex, and one of the bastions was called 'Warwick's,' although it was afterwards re-named the 'Harwich' bastion (J. H. Leslie, *History of Landguard Fort*, pp. 9, 18).

[4] See note on p. 135 above.

[5] Perhaps Captain Augustus Birch (or Birtch), who had been commander of the Royal Escape in 1672.

[6] Buxey Sand, lying S.W. of the Gunfleet, forms the northern boundary of the S. entrance to the River Crouch, and Buxey Spit is at the N.E. corner of the Sand.

sea-charts. And therefore never was done till now that Collins is at work under the encouragement of the King.[1]

Mr. Legg tells me that a French scout first gave us notice of the Dutch fleet coming towards us in Sole-Bay.

Recollect the late Lord Berkley's[2] running his ship aground in the River.

Examine the list of ship[s] for those that have perished by running aground, viz. the Algier,[3] etc.

Reflect upon the number of wracks visible in our River.

Mr. Legg wonders that the Dutch have never thought of stopping up our channel by sinking of ships therein.[4]

Lord Sandwich's fleet mistook the channel.

And so did the Duke's with Captain Gunman,—Mr. Legg.

Apply the ridiculous proverb concerning Tinterton steeple.[5]

[1] See note on p. 125 above.

[2] Probably Charles, Lord Berkeley of Stratton (*d.* 1682), commander of the Tiger.

[3] See Pepys's *Register of Ships* (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, i. 266–295). The Algier, a 5th-rate, was cast away on the Black Tail in June 1673.

[4] This method was employed by the English government in June 1667, when one of the charges against Pett was that he had failed to carry out an order to block the channel of the Medway by sinking a ship inside the chain. Ships were also sunk below Woolwich to prevent the Dutch coming up any higher (*Diary*, June 14, 1667).

[5] This may refer to the story of the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, who diverted the funds for keeping up a sea-wall to the building of Tenterden steeple, and so caused the inundation of 1099, which gave rise to the saying, 'Tenterden steeple was the cause of the Goodwin Sands.'

Q[*uaere*] have we not more of our own ships lost upon our coasts than strangers ?

Consider Sir Thomas More [1] or Erasmus's copy of verses about ale from Gallia.

Observe the impropriety of a court-martial [2] of commanders to judge of the ignorance or negligence of a master or pilot, who do not pretend or dare take upon them any answerableness for the safe navigating of their ships, but are continually putting the King to the charge of pilotage, even of the 5th-rates, in or out of the River of Thames or over to the coasts of Holland or France, and in case of any miscarrying lay all upon their master ; and yet at other times take it ill not to be thought great seamen, and presume at a court-martial [2] to censure a master or pilot as if themselves were the only judges of navigation.

Memorandum, to collect very particular accounts of the trials and sentences of court in the case of the pilot and Captain Gunman about the loss of the Gloucester [3] ; reflecting well upon the consequence of those sentences, by which it is in consequence declared that no miscarriage either of ship or fleet by any degree of ignorance in a master or pilot can be capital.

Upon something that Henry Savile [4] said to me, upon our looking together at Mr. Legg's upon a picture of General Deane's,[5] inferring that he

[1] MS. ' Moore.' [2] MS. ' court-marshal.'

[3] See note on p. 131 above. Captain Gunman was dismissed the service.

[4] Henry Savile the diplomatist, Admiralty Commissioner 1682–84.

[5] On Richard Deane, general-at-sea, the colleague of Blake, see *D.N.B.*, xiv. 254. He was killed in the battle of the Gabbard, June 2, 1653.

was not the first land-admiral. *Q.* what is to be said that there was so many land-men in the late times made Generals at Sea, viz. Monk, Askew,[1] Deane, and all their Commissioners of the Admiralty, and for the most part of the Navy.

Mr. Bridgman notes to me that by the statutes it is made felony for a soldier or seaman to beg.[2] Examine and apply it.

Hard to know at all times certainly when at sea how the tide runs. Nothing more unnatural than that a court-martial[3] should be wholly made up of commanders, whether it be an officer or common man that is to be judged.

Reflect upon the court's trying Captain Gunman about the Gloucester and the Gloucester's miscarriage privately, none being present at the examining of the witnesses, though myself was known by the court to have come on board the yacht on purpose to hear the trial, as being one that had hardly escaped bearing a share in the evil occasioned by Captain Gunman and the pilot's misbehaviour on that occasion.[4] And very much to be bemoaned it is that the lives of those who miscarried had no more satisfaction exacted for them from the offenders than the sentences of those two courts provided, and was made good by the speedy indulgences of the Court at Whitehall upon them.

[1] On Sir George Ayscue, see *D.N.B.*, ii. 198.

[2] By 14 Eliz. c. 5 (1575) begging was made felony on a second offence (§ 4), and among 'sturdy beggars' were included 'all shipmen pretending losses at sea' (§ 5); but soldiers are not referred to. Mr. William Bridgeman had been clerk or secretary to Sir Joseph Williamson when he was Secretary of State. He was afterwards (1693) a Clerk to the Council.

[3] MS. 'court-marshal.'

[4] See note on p. 131 above.

Get a full and true narrative of the whole practice and trial at the Marshalsea of our West Indian buccaneers.[1]

Remember the public folly shewn in the great disquiet raised in Parliament upon the business of tickets.[2]

The seamen are the most adventurous creatures in the world, and the most free of their money after all their dangers when they come to receive it.

Recollect the ground and meaning of the Kentish proverb concerning Tinderton steeple.[3]

Consider the little choice to be found after several months' enquiry of persons fit for the place of Mathematical Master in Christ's Hospital;[4] there being not one that was master of all that was required in him, viz. Latin, with the practice as well as theory of navigation, but two that were masters both of Latin and the theory of mathematics, viz. Paget and Fairfax, and the latter of them only had ever applied that theory to navigation. Street had indeed theory enough,

[1] MS. 'bucaniers.'

[2] 'Up, and at the office, my Lord Brouncker and I, close together till almost 3 after noon, never stirring, making up a report for the Committee this afternoon about the business of discharging men by ticket, which it seems the House is mighty earnest in, but is a foolery in itself, yet gives me a great deal of trouble to draw up a defence for the Board as if it was a crime; but I think I have done it to very good purpose' (*Diary*, October 29, 1667).

[3] See note on p. 145, above.

[4] The reference is to the election of a successor to Dr. Robert Wood in 1682. Mr. Edward Pagett, who was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was chosen, and held office for 13 years, receiving a salary of £100 a year. Richard Norris was one of the unsuccessful candidates (E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, p. 112). On the qualifications for the office, see *ib.* p. 108.

and some Latin but little, and his person antiquated, and but two who had both a theory and practice, viz. Norris and Williams, but the former of them superannuated and neither of them any Latinist. And this was all the choice we could get, though for a place of as little trouble, as much quiet, as great convenience of living, and [as] large a salary well paid, as most Professorships and several Masterships, and much superior to the greatest part of the Fellowships, in either of our Universities.

Solicit Sir William Petty to make an end of his scheme of Naval Philosophy, I having a copy of so much as he has yet done toward it.[1]

Remember the Trinity House encouraging very amply out of the poor's stock for the safety of navigation Captain Collins in his present survey of our coasts.[2]

Mr. Evelyn tells me that Lashly the Scotchman, who built the Folly[3] upon the River of Thames, did once in his time pretend to set up one at Paris, to teach the French to make potage.

Little sign of our commander's thinking the Gloucester in any great danger, when not only the Duke and Colonel Legg but Sir John Berry[4]

[1] A letter of June 17, 1682, from Dr. Robert Wood to Pepys, 'accompanying some papers containing Sir William Petty's scheme of Naval Philosophy,' is printed in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, i. 301; and the scheme is copied into vol. ii. of his *Miscellanies*, p. 477.

[2] See note on p. 125 above.

[3] An account of the Folly, by Mr. G. C. E. Crone, is printed in the *Mariner's Mirror* (xi. 209). She was a yacht of an unusual kind, 'so long, that she served to the King [Charles II] to play ball in her.'

[4] Sir John Berry, who was in command of the Gloucester, was acquitted of all blame for her loss.

himself were gone to bed when she struck,[1] and the pilot gone into his cabin, if not in bed ; which could not be from over-watching, the ship having laid at anchor from eight at night to eight in the morning the day before. Captain Gunman also and Captain Sanders,[2] who were in the yachts that sounded before the Gloucester, were both in bed. Whether Captain Birch[3] and Captain Leak[4] were up or no I know not ; but myself was a-bed and was wakened by Captain Leake's crying out upon the deck that the Duke was on ground. So that Captain Wyborne in the Happy Return, who was about a mile astern of us, was the only commander of the whole fleet that was out of his bed at that time.

Remember to get copies of all the examinations, trials, and sentences in the case of the Gloucester,[5] and discourse with Sir Richard Haddocke[6] about it, and what Gunman's carpenter would have said if he had been well enough to have been at the court-martial.[7]

Enquire after an account which Dr. Wood[8] or Mr. Flamstead[9] or Mr. Abraham Hill[10] told me Sir Christopher Wren did long ago prepare and deliver only to the King concerning ship-building.[11]

[1] MS. 'stroke.'

[2] Captain Christopher Gunman was in command of the Mary yacht, and Captain Ralph Saunderson of the Charlotte yacht. Pepys himself was in the Katherine yacht.

[3] See note on p. 144 above. [4] See note on p. 140 above.

[5] See p. 146 above.

[6] Sir Richard Haddock was at this time Comptroller of the Navy.

[7] MS. 'court-marshal.'

[8] Dr. Robert Wood, ex-mathematical master at Christ's Hospital.

[9] John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal.

[10] See note on p. 97 above. [11] See p. 127 above.

Mr. Hawton the apothecary and Mr. Collins the accomptant about a discourse which Sir William Petty is said to have written concerning Political Arithmetic.[1]

Q[*uaere*], What does the Great Seal of the Admiralty consist of ?

Q[*uaere*] the conditions and care taken by the Officers of the Navy of Mr. Dummer's draughts delivered to them by him of the bodies of such of the King's ships as he was employed to take the dimensions of.[2]

Examine the duty of the Lord Admiral prepared by me and confirmed by the King in Council in June 1673[3]; and see how complied with by the present Commissioners.

Consider the old saying among the divines, *Qui nescit orare discat navigare.*

Mr. Bridgman[4] upon discourse observes that there was but two that were really great men in Queen Elizabeth's time, viz. (as I remember) Cecil and Throgmorton; referring me to the *Cabala of Letters*[5] to see what ordinary doings there were among our statesmen in those days.

[1] The earliest of Sir William Petty's *Essays in Political Arithmetic* appeared in 1683.

[2] A MS. in the Pepysian Library, entitled *Collection of Vessels Naval*, contains 'Mr. Dummer's Draughts of the Body of an English Man of War.'

[3] There are three copies of these Instructions of 13 June 1673 in the Pepysian Library (*Catalogue*, i. 36), but the statement in the text is the first intimation that the new establishment for the Lord High Admiral's office had been prepared by Pepys.

[4] See note on p. 147 above.

[5] An anonymous collection of the letters of illustrious persons, first published in 1654.

And what ado there was for privacy for getting over some little things out of France for the Queen's own use.

He observes too that all nations think slightly of us for the ill choice of our Ministers abroad, not speaking to our honour of any of them but of those in Oliver's time.

He notes also our having no good register of papers and instructions; every Minister of State being almost to begin again to invent instructions for every Minister that is sent abroad to this or that Prince or State, as if it were the first time we had ever sent any thither.

Remember to reflect fully upon, 1. The ridiculous success of that terrible Commission to Brook House[1]; 2. That of tickets[2]; 3. That of the Dutch coming to Chatham, and Brounker's.[3]

Examine the Act about Lighthouses[4] and apply it.

Captain Fazeby's[5] saying how often the sands do shift before Diep[6] or the Havre; I think he says in two or three days, there being a sluice[7] of a tide also. So that every time you come thither you must take a pilot.

[1] The chief office of the Commissioners of Public Accounts was at Brooke House, Holborn.

[2] See note on p. 148 above.

[3] The impeachment of Henry Brouncker is referred to on p. 119 above.

[4] The reference is probably to the Act relating to beacons (see p. 84 above).

[5] Captain William Fasby, commander of the Henrietta yacht.

[6] Dieppe.

[7] MS. 'sluce.'

Consult Mr. Shere [1] for his notes upon Noah's Ark.

Ditto Mr. Haulstead of the Tower [2] about the time of the first establishment of the Principal Officers of the Navy.[3]

I find no provision made for seamen, or so much as mention of them, in all King Edward the 6th his design of instituting the hospitals of London.[4]

Observe the low place of the Shipwrights among the Companies of London in my Lord Mayor's List thereof printed 1682.[5]

Q[*uaere*] the like about Companies of Merchants.

No provision made in our Trinity House or anywhere else (but what I did in the Navy Office [6]) for the collecting and keeping of journals, nor for translating of marine books out of foreign languages.

Mr. Gibson [7] says that in Bethel's book of the present state of the Princes of Europe [8] notice is

[1] On Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Shere, the military engineer, see *D.N.B.*, lii. 10.

[2] Robert Halstead was associated with Dr. Brady (see note on p. 42 above) in the keeping of the records in the Tower.

[3] The Principal Officers acting as the equivalent of the later Navy Board were established by Henry VIII's Letters Patent of April 24, 1546 (M. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509–1660, p. 85); but individual offices can be traced farther back.

[4] See p. 124 above.

[5] On the history of the Companies of Shipwrights, see W. G. Perrin, *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, pp. xxix–xli.

[6] On Pepys's methodical proceedings as Clerk of the Acts, see J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, p. 25.

[7] See note on p. 23 above.

[8] *The Interest of Princes and States of Europe*, published by Slingsby Bethel the republican in 1680.

taken of a certain nobleman of Venice his saying to Sir Henry Vane when Ambassador there that we were a good and brave people in England in other things, but had no public spirit among us.[1]

Q[*uaere*], was not the principal use of the Cinque Ports to carry over and conduct our own and foreign hired ships employed in transporting of men to our ports in France, and so ceased when we lost our footing there. And was not our last occasion for them our last relief of Calais? And what was required by Queen Mary, or was done by them of service on that occasion, it appearing that it was lost for want of relief?

Villa Franca[2] said to be a port free for all pirates.

Mr. Gibson[3] notes that we were troubled with pirates upon our coasts (besides the Dunkirkers) even in King Charles the 1st his time, and (as he thinks) they were suppressed by the Hamburgers and not by ourselves.

Masters of ships being Brethren of the Trinity House have franks to exempt them from land-service; and yet are commanded thither. And on the other hand think much to be pressed into the King's service as masters, though on that account exempted from land.

Recollect how little service the Cinque Ports were of to us the two last Dutch wars, and whether we did not pay as much for their men, and had as

[1] The Venetian Ambassador, 'at his taking leave of old Sir Henry Vane when Secretary of State,' told him 'that England was happy in their king, country, nobility, and gentry, and would be perfectly happy had they public spirits; but of that, he said, they had the least of any people that ever he had the honour to know' (Bethel, p. 229).

[2] In the Azores.

[3] See note on p. 23 above.

many complaints concerning them, as of any other place, and their cost for wages and sick and wounded equal with any.

Colonel Stroud[1] tells me that the last service he thinks the Cinque Ports did to the Crown by virtue of their tenure[2] was in the time of Henry the 8th and Queen Elizabeth ; the latter of which he thinks had ships from them to carry over men to Diep, which he says was a bold action of hers. *Q.* the story.

He says that afterwards, when they were become too poor to set out any ships, and their ships that answered the service heretofore were now become unable to answer the same, the Crown did find ships and Ports manned them. And of this he says there was something in the last King's time when we had something to do at sea about the Fishery. And this he says was their last service of that kind ; only he brags much of his service on their behalves in providing men for the fleet out of the Ports the two last wars. Wherein nevertheless I remember nothing done extraordinary.

Q[*uaere*] from the Custom House books what inventions or commodities England has properly of its own to boast of.

Sir William Petty says touching the present condition of our Court and Law of the Admiralty, which is come to nothing by the power of the Common Law, that the ratio he goes by in this matter is, that as there is a man that has written a book of law which he calls *Praxis totius Orbis*, or the Course of Proceeding therein through the

[1] Colonel John Strode, Governor of Dover Castle.
[2] MS. ' tenour.'

Known World, so in all kingdoms and states there should be such a form of law in all matters of trade, that every man of every nation should find himself at home in any suit, and know how to manage himself therein, as if he were in his own country; just as the Pope by having his Church service performed in Latin, pretends that every man of his Church knows in every country as well as in his own when he enters into a church what to do and what is in doing. And here it is to be observed how unfit we are to pretend to Sea Dominion that neither have nor ever had any such certain and uniform provision of law for strangers to be masters of.

Sir William Petty further says that he could never yet hear our doctrine of Sea Dominion justified with so much as common sense, considering the several circumstances wherein this sovereignty must shew itself, and whether we ever had any of them or not, the particulars whereof he severally runs through; and observing that we have none of any of them. And then to consider what the striking of sail is to signify, whether anything more than respect, and so everyone is in some sense or degree lower than another. And then that it was never yet settled what *Altum Mare* signifies, he seeming to think [it] to be wherever a ship may sail and ride, concluding that this pretence of sovereignty was taken up when we were masters of all the ports on both sides the seas, and so people must now and then be driven into one or other of them for shelter. *Vide* his written discourse I had from Sir Robert Southwell[1] on this subject.

[1] On Sir Robert Southwell the diplomatist, see *D.N.B.*, liii. 299. He was a life-long friend of Sir William Petty, who had married his cousin, Lady Fenton.

Examine Gruterus's Book of Inscriptions[1] for anything belonging to the sea.

Ditto, Pancerollus his *Notitiae Imperii*.[2]

Examine what can be pickt out of the history of our several Admirals by searching Dugdale's *Baronage*[3] and other books of their several stories.

The Barons of the 5 Ports hold up the King's canopy at his Coronation. But *quaere* whether the Lord Admiral has any place there as such, or at the Coronation Feast in Westminster Hall, as those Barons have. *Vide* Ogilby's *History of the Coronation*.[4] And consider how much better places other mean officers had therein than they; and that the King's footmen contended the last time with the Barons [5]of the 5 Ports[5] whose fee the canopy should be.[6]

See Dr. Heylin's account of navigation in his *Cosmography*.[7]

Lambert in his chapter of the Cinque Ports says that they served to attend the King and

[1] Janus Gruterus (1560–1627), Professor at the University of Heidelberg, published in 1600 *Inscriptiones antiquae totius Orbis Romani*.

[2] Guy Pancirolus (1523–1599), an Italian lawyer, who published in 1593 *Commentarii in Notitiam utriusque Imperii et de Magistratibus*.

[3] Sir William Dugdale's *Baronage of England* appeared in 1675–6.

[4] On John Ogilby's account of the Coronation of Charles II, see *D.N.B.*, xlii. 16.

[5] These four words are inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[6] See Pepys's *Diary* (ed. Wheatley), ii. 23 and 23 *n*. The incident is also referred to in Ogilby (p. 186).

[7] The *Cosmography* of Peter Heylyn, the biographer of Laud, was published 1657–66.

carry his forces over to the other side. See his words.[1]

Prince William, only son to Henry the 1st, drowned with a great number of people of quality coming over from France, *anno* 1120.

Mr. Haulsted[2] tells me that he has seen some commissions for admirals for vessels under 20 tons, and others of other burdens.

Hollinshed tells what service it was that Edward the 1st gave the Cinque Ports their charter for against the Welsh, 1278. Only brings this service in 1282,[3] I think. *Q.* therefore whether this be the same service or not ?

Q[*uaere*], Is there anything in the whole art of building or guiding of ships that was ever found out by much learning, but all by the plainest and most unlearned builders and boatswains ? And therefore why should anybody think of there being any great mystery therein, or anything required but trial and experience common to all nations, even the most barbarous, viz. not as to what does relate to the science of Astronomy,[4] but purely to the structure of a ship and contrivance of its sails, masts, yards, rudders,[5] anchors, boats, oars, sounding-lead and line, etc.

[1] William Lambarde in his *Perambulation of Kent* remarks that the duty of the Cinque Ports is ' the honourable transportation and safe conduct of the King's own person or his army across the Narrow Seas ' (edition of 1656, p. 124).

[2] See note on p. 153 above.

[3] A reference to the taking of Anglesey in 1282, ' in the which enterprise the mariners of the Cinque Ports bare themselves right manfully ' (Holinshed, ii. 485).

[4] Over the word ' Astronomy ' the word ' Navigation ' is inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[5] MS. ' ruthers.'

D[uke of] Y[ork] says that it is impossible for our masters to keep any good account of their sailing while they (as he says they do to this day) use only the plain chart and not Mercator's,[1] and seems to like very well of our masters in the West Country's judging their way not so much by the log as by their walking upon the deck, which by use he says (in his own practice of walking) he finds may be very exact both as to way and time.

Stow (though not in his account of Leaden Hall, yet) in his chapter about the public schools of the City, does give an account of a Lecture of Mathematics or Astronomy or Navigation (I have forgotten which) taught in the old chapel there.[2]

Sutton in his founding of the Charterhouse made no provision for seamen ; and observe also the time when he founded it.[3]

We owe a great deal of the strength of our Navy to [the] D[uke of] Y[ork]'s getting ships to be begun to be built in confidence that when they were begun they would not let them want finishing, who otherwise would never of themselves have spared money from lesser uses to begin to

[1] The first map on the projection of Gerardus Mercator (Gerhard Krämer) appeared in 1569.

[2] ' Furthermore, about the same time [*c.* 1582] there was also begun a Mathematical Lecture, to be read in a fair old Chapel . . . within the Leaden-hall. . . . But this Chapel, and other parts of the Hall, being employed for stowage of goods taken out of a great Spanish carrack, the said Lecture ceased any more to be read, and was then in the year 1588 read in the house of Master Thomas Smith in Grass Street, etc.' (*Survey of London*, c. xi., ' Of Schools and other Houses of Learning ').

[3] Thomas Sutton's deed of foundation of the Charterhouse, signed October 31, 1611, included among inmates of the Hospital soldiers who had borne arms by land or sea, and merchants ruined by shipwreck or piracy (*D.N.B.* lv. 187).

build. And by this means ships have been built, though to our great shame and grief long in building.

Young Mr. Pearce tells me how much the plank of the new Ann[1] is already taken out as rotten.

Sir Thomas Meres[2] tells me that they at last come back to my old way of keeping the guard-ships by commanders being allowed them.

Young Mr. Pearce tells me also that the boat-swain of the Henry,[3] who for not seeing the candles put out when she was burnt was turned out of his place by a court-martial,[4] is since made boatswain of the Fubbs yacht.

Several good remarks in the Life of Richard the 2nd touching his sending ships to sea to secure the coasts,[5] and then when he thought himself secure calling them in again, and discourses in Hollinshed about beacons of old. And consider the antiquity and laws about beacons, shewing still our fears of invasion in all times, and in his particularly notice is taken of the noblemen's

[1] The new Anne, a 3rd-rate, had been built at Chatham by Phineas Pett in 1678, to replace the old Anne, blown up by accident at Sheerness, December 2, 1673.

[2] Sir Thomas Meres was a member of the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84, so much criticised by Pepys in his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* (1690). On the new instructions for guardships of October 20, 1685, issued when Pepys returned to office, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 208.

[3] The Henry, a 2nd-rate, was burnt by accident at Chatham, May 16, 1682.

[4] MS. ' court-marshal.'

[5] Perhaps a reference to the passage in Holinshed (ii. 718), which says that John of Gaunt undertook to defend the realm from invasion for a year, and therefore ' provided a great navy to go to the sea.'

being obliged to look after their ports in their countries [1] against invasion.

Hollinshed in the Life of Richard the First says that he in his preparation for the Holy Land made several persons who by their names appeared to be strangers, leaders of his fleet,[2] giving the particulars of the laws he then made for the orderly government thereof.

Stow observes, in the beginning of his *Survey of London*, the little distance between the mean account given of our navigation by Caesar at his coming into England, and Tacitus his saying how great a place of trade London was then.[3]

Kneighton,[4] under the word *Quinque Portus*, assigns the beginning and ground of their privileges to King John; and he writes just after Richard the 2nd.

What have we like the Charta de Foresta or any other laws in favour of the sea or seamen, saving what I think is provided in Magna Charta for the Cinque Ports? [5]

Observe how from the primitive times the middle of the church has been called Ναὸς or *Navis*.

[1] In the sense of counties.

[2] Robert de 'Sabuuille' and Richard de 'Camuille' (*ib.* ii. 214).

[3] Stow refers to both Caesar and Tacitus, but does not compare them.

[4] Henry Knighton (*fl.* 1363), the author of *Compilatio de eventibus Angliae*.

[5] The 'liberties and free customs' of the Barons of the Cinque Ports are specifically mentioned in the reissues of Magna Charta by Henry III, but not in the original charter of John (McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, p. 290).

What lights or other marks have they anywhere else, and do not we know them, or are they not made public? And what particularly upon the coasts of France, and possibly of the English putting up there?

Consider whether there was nothing in the paper I gave the Parliament of more moment for secrecy than what we are charged with; and yet when advised from the King at my suggestion by Mr. Secretary Coventry not to expose them to public view, they would expose it.

Reflect upon Ovid's description of a storm, *Metamorph.* lib. 11, line 140,[1] and any other description of storms.

O[f] Brazil. *Q.* what has been said, writ, or printed thereon.[2]

Q[*uaere*] how old the invention of spectacles?

The knave-line.[3] What?

Get the King of France's new Book of the Ordinance Marine.[4]

Observe the instances I have met with in our Hospitals of poor children's being refused by their parents to be sent to sea when fitted for it, and the children themselves willing to it; and the Hospital's expedient to prevent it by a pre-obligation from the parents.

[1] This must be the long description of the storm which shipwrecked Ceyx, the husband of Alcyone.

[2] MS. 'therein.'

[3] This is fully described in Sir Henry Mainwaring, *The Seaman's Dictionary* (*c.* 1620). See his *Life and Works*, vol. ii. p. 172 (*N.R.S.* publications, vol. lvi.).

[4] A copy of 'Ordonnance de Louis XIV pour les Armées Navales et Arcenaux de Marine' is in the Pepysian Library [No. 693].

Observe also the example of those children's running from the service when at sea.

Memorandum, the definition of a bay or *sinus*, and compare it with Robin Hood's in my Lord Coke.[1]

What shipwrights, new or old, have ever raised estates by their trade, as particularly the Petts; and if any, whether in the merchants' service or the King's, where the greatest artists have always been; and reckon up instances of the poor families of the best; and what is to be said herein of Sir H. Johnson,[2] who, however he has got it, was never famous for building the best or biggest ships; whilst on the contrary how many attorneys, etc., have got great estates.

There is no other answer to be given to the question, What is the best ship? or Who is the best shipwright? than to What is the best house? or Who is the best house-builder? Both requiring your particularising the uses and services your ship or house is designed for; and then perhaps a lesser man may build a house for one use better than another man can who is a better builder; he that can build a Ship Royal being possibly not able without further information to build a western barge[3] or wherry so well as an ordinary boat-builder; no more than he that can build a palace can presently[4] fall into all the considerations required in the building of an inn or a farmhouse, etc.

[1] See note on p. 120 above.

[2] Sir Henry Johnson of Blackwall, a private shipbuilder. Pepys describes his son as 'an ingenious young gentleman, but above all personal labour, as being left too well provided for to work much' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 78).

[3] MS. 'bardge.'

[4] *I.e.* immediately.

Observe in the Exact Constable [1] that seafaring men that begged without a testimonial (which in the case of shipwrack may possibly not be to be procured) are reckoned among sturdy beggars,—Page 63. And that mariners, fishermen, etc., must not play at cards, dice, etc., out of Christmas,—Page 40. Also what is said about flesh provided for ships being permitted in Lent, —Page 46. About new wears [2] along the seashores,—Page 47. And that a piece of the constable's oath to this day is to maintain archery, —Page 61. And provision made for the maintenance of disabled soldiers—Page 91. But no notice there taken of seamen.

Observe in the *Complete Gamester*,[3] page 203, that my Lord Mayor is said to this day to keep up the old custom of seeing the prize performed annually of shooting with the pound-arrow.

Consider the proportioning of the Knights and Burgesses of Parliament in the last (or rather first, according to Dr. Brady [4]) settlement of the number thereof to the Cinque Ports in proportion to the several counties they are in, or any other counties, whether they are more or less, and accordingly apply it.

Consider what possible account can be given of the proportions of the Members of Parliament,

[1] Possibly a reference to the supplement on the Duties of Constables added to the last three editions of William Lambarde's *Eirenarcha*. This was for a long time the standard authority, and it was reprinted seven times between 1582 and 1610. On the legislation of the 16th century to which the text refers, see J. R. Tanner, *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, pp. 469–73, 474, 476, 478, 485, 488, 494.

[2] 'Wear' (weir) is probably used here of a dam, *i.e.* a sea-wall.

[3] First published in 1679.

[4] Dr. Robert Brady, historian and physician, published in 1690 *An Historical Treatise of Cities and . . . Boroughs . . .*

either in the list of towns that were in the beginning of Parliaments (whereof many are said since to have by petition got themselves excused) or those that send them now ; and the reason of the Commons refusing to have the King create any new ones now, though for a sea-town, Hull,[1] where there is the most ancient Trinity House.

Consider also how Cromwell made his new proportions in his Parliament [2] with regard to sea and trade.

When was the Act of Navigation first passed ? How has it been since confirmed or corrected ; and what were the members, whether of the Long Parliament or Rump or one of the Cromwell's Parliaments, that first passed it ? And in what and by whom corrected, and how at this day in force ? [3]

What have been the places for the most part from the beginning that have petitioned to be excused from sending members to Parliament, and what thereof sea-ports ?

How to make the properest comparison by way of proportion between the counties and boroughs (both sea and land-ones) that now send to Parliament, viz. between one another and other counties and boroughs that do not send to Parliament ? *Q.* to that end the Custom House books, Adams's *Villare*,[4] Acts of Parliament, and county books for taxes ?

[1] It is not clear what this refers to ; Andrew Marvell was representing Hull in Parliament from 1660 until 1678.

[2] This refers to the distribution of seats provided for in the Instrument of Government of December 16, 1653, under which Cromwell's first Parliament met.

[3] The first Navigation Act was passed by the Rump Parliament in October 1651. It was ' corrected ' by 12 Car. II, c. 18.

[4] *Index Villaris*, compiled by John Adams the topographer, and first published in 1680, with a dedication to Charles II.

How to come by the proportion that the benefit arising to the Crown by the sea and navigation bears to that from the land ?

The Dutch commanders keep the sea upon trade during peace, whilst ours lie idling on shore.

And the French commanders also do the same, or at least keep with the ships and in constant exercise.

What one or more laws are there in England in favour of seamen in general ?

I know nothing taken from the sea into common use among people of quality but the word *Huzzah*, and whence comes that,[1] and how laudably applied ?

No one book for the institution[2] of Englishmen ever yet recommended or provided anything for the sea ; not my Lord North's in his *Œconomicks*.[3] *Q.* what any other has done, and particularly my Lord Bacon.

Thom Killegrew's[4] father used to cry to his wife, ' Lord ! sweetheart, here's Thom come home again ! ' viz. after their several times sending him to sea for his viciousness, to be rid of him.

All our books of education and exercises for gentlemen relate to the land, and none to the sea. *Q.* the truth thereof.

[1] Originally a sailor's hauling or hoisting cry.

[2] In the sense of instruction.

[3] In 1669 Dudley, fourth Baron North, published *Observations and Advices Œconomical*, a book on the management of the household and family.

[4] Thomas Killigrew the dramatist, referred to in the *Diary* as ' a merry droll.' In his youth he had travelled much abroad, and the MS. ' Letters of his Travels ' are at Trinity College, Dublin. He was a son of Sir Robert Killigrew the courtier.

Calais is said by my Lord North in his *Œconom[icks]* to be lost for want of mustard [1]to their beef.[1] *Q.* the meaning of it.

England has taken a knight errant,[2] St. George, for its guardian saint, and not any of the Apostles and other fishermen that would have had more relation to the sea.

Q[uaere] where to read and compare the proprieties of the several tutelar saints of countries.

The State of France, in the chapter of Admiral of the Galleys, gives an account of a commission for the command of the galleys and frigates of France in 1562.[3]

France has an establishment of a Secretary of the Marine, as the State of France says, whereas we have none. And it may be fit to enquire as far back as we can what the Secretaries of our Admirals and Navy have been since the memory of man, or any other helps we can get, as well in the late times as heretofore and now; and what became of them all, and their books and the Admirals'? And consider also the meanness of our Judge Advocates.

My Lord North in his *Œcon[omicks]*,[4] page 87, says that my Lord Chief Justice Coke used often

[1] These three words are inserted in the MS. in Pepys's hand. The reference is to a sentence on p. 13: 'They do not apply themselves to storm the fort, but by siege to make the holding of it incommodious, and so to cause a rendry to them for want of conveniency, as the French say our Englishmen surrendered Calais for lack of mustard.'

[2] The MS. has 'knight herald,' afterwards corrected to 'knight errand.'

[3] John Sleidane's *Epitome of Froissart*, published in 1611, in the chapter 'Admiral of the Galleys,' gives an account of a commission for the command of the French galleys.

[4] See note on p. 166 above.

to boast of it as a matter of prudence that he never had cast his penny into the water nor dipt his fingers in mortar, meaning that he had never been trader nor been a builder; which is not only an extraordinary instance of the general aversion of our greatest and most learned men to the sea and trade, but particularly is capable of further use in reference to the discouragement the Admiralty Law finds among us, etc.

But further, my Lord North himself, pages 17 and 18, advising how children of parents of better quality are to be bred above mechanics, reckons up the several ways, which he calls the most noble, of employing, saying that England has great plenty of them, and reckons only Divinity, the several kinds of Laws, Soldiery, and Physic, without a word of Navigation. He adds indeed that Merchandise is not to be contemned. And a good instance he hath in his own son, Dudley the merchant, and now a Sheriff of London.[1] But this was not to commend it, but keep it from contempt only; giving this for the reason of it, that in other nations persons of honourable quality do follow Merchandise. Which ought to be a matter of principal reproach to us, who value ourselves so much from the sea.

Besides that the being a merchant does not so much honour, as employs Navigation, as a convenience only; just as we do porters, coachmen, and waggoners, etc.

And that my Lord North does not imply Navigation in the word Soldiery is clear from page 118, where he gives the reason of his com-

[1] Sir Dudley North, financier and economist, the fourth son of the fourth Baron North. He was the leading merchant in the Turkey Company, and in 1682 became a Sheriff of the City of London, being knighted during his term of office.

mending to a gentleman the exercise of hunting, as useful to him as a soldier, which is not only the Prince's but a gentleman's trade, going on to shew its having always been so by our coats of arms and crests.

And then, as an addition to hunting, he joins hawking, bowling, fishing, etc., without a word of Mathematics, and much less Navigation in particular.

No, nor page 117, where he recommends History to a gentleman, and Reading, making the subject of that reading the laws of the kingdom, and that only so far as may be done without labour ; but not a word, as before. Besides that his son the Lord Chief Justice, and now Lord Keeper,[1] shews his having thought it requisite to read more of the Law than his father advised him.

To this my Lord North, page 72, further shews that he means the land-soldiers all along, and only by referring them to the great deeds of our soldiers heretofore done in foreign countries, which for a reason he there gives[2] he believes

[1] Francis North, the third son of the fourth Baron North, was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1675–82. On December 20, 1682, he was appointed Lord Keeper, and in the following year he was raised to the peerage as Baron Guilford. As he died on September 5, 1685, the date of these entries must have been about 1683.

[2] 'The good government of families is very profitable to the Prince or State, for servants well trained up in obedience and free from idleness become good members of the commonwealth ; and none more fit for soldiers than they, but especially those of the better sort, who by their breeding attain to a kind of generosity of spirit which renders them most fit for the martial profession ; and I am fully persuaded that the great actions performed by our kings in foreign countries heretofore were chiefly acted by the nobility and gentry, who being obliged by tenure of their lands to attend their Prince in person, carried with them their servants, and these had not their heart so much at a home of their own, as members of the trained-bands in our days.'

to have been principally of noble families and gentlemen.

Q[*uaere*] what provision or regard has our law at all to the saving of ship-timber,[1] because my Lord North, page 100, takes notice that the law makes the cutting of any trees that grow for the shelter or safeguard of a house waste, though they be not timber-trees.[2]

Examine what any of institutions of youth, and particularly of people of quality, either here or abroad, of late or ancient, have ever taken notice of designing any of them for the sea ; and whether any nation more than we.

See what Montaigne in his *Essays* says, if anything, of it.[3]

What has the City of London or my Lord Mayor among his buildings or officers, either for real use or pomp, relating to the greatness of its trade, command or doings at sea, besides the master of his barge[4] and authority over the Watermen's Company ; while they and he have several for their pleasure and pomp on shore, as his esquire, hunt, etc. *Q*. What they may have in relation to the Conservatorship of the Thames.

Was there ever any houses of charity erected for poor seamen, saving the Trinity Houses ? And did not they begin from themselves ? I am

[1] 19 & 20 Car. II, c. 8, 'For the increase and preservation of timber within the Forest of Dean,' mentions the supply of timber for shipping as one of the reasons for the Act.

[2] 15 Car. II, c. 2, forbade the cutting down of growing trees.

[3] Pepys may have been thinking of the Essay 'Of Pedantry,' some passages of which deal with education.

[4] MS. 'bardge.'

sure that from Hull did. And see what the Crown has done for ours, if anything.

And is not the Chest at Chatham the first instance of a contribution given by a Society in public service to support themselves? And was not that the example for what the King is now a-doing at Chelsey[1] for land-soldiers? I well remember the French Ambassador to have taken it for their Invalides.

See how far mariners are interested with soldiers in the Act of Elizabeth for their relief,[2] and in what terms.

Whereabouts (near or far from the sea) lived the man that by his tenure was anciently to find nails for the King's ships, and the value of that which he had for that service; for the estimating the expense of the King's fleet therein at that time?

What is there found to have been considerably said relating to sea-matters by any of our greatest men in Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's time, and particularly in acknowledgment to our Admiral after his great service in '88?

See in her time what our strength at sea was said to be,[3] and how many of her great men and favourites understood the sea.

See whether, though we may have had Admirals so long as France, ours were from the

[1] Chelsea Royal Hospital was begun in 1680 from the design of Sir Christopher Wren.

[2] 35 Eliz. c. 4 is entitled 'An Act for the relief of Soldiers,' although disabled mariners are included. 43 Eliz. c. 3 is 'An Act for the necessary relief of Soldiers and Mariners.'

[3] See the holograph paper in Pepys's *Private Correspondence* entitled 'Notes touching the Naval Strength of England employed in the Spanish Invasion' (ii. 244).

beginning as great in quality as theirs; even before the Admiralty of the Hither Provinces were annext to the Admiralty of France.

Observe that in 1554 the King of France his Geographer translates and dedicates to his master the Spanish *Art de Naviger*,[1] and in his Epistle speaks mightily how by the help thereof that king might now extend his power all over the world, and in his Preface to the Reader gives the glory of all to the Spaniard, magnifying the dangers of this art of navigation and its excellences beyond all others.

The ale-conner [2] an office more provided for in the law of England than a ship.

Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. 2nd., page 235, says that in the 36 of Henry 6, Boteler and other earls there named were Guardians of the Sea for 3 years, and quotes his authority for it.[3]

Read what Mr. Sorbier says of our ships in his *Voyage to England*.[4]

Mr. Shere [5] tells me that Ward, the English renegado, contemporary with Dr. Donne who

[1] The *Arte de Navegar*, by Pedro de Medina, was published in Seville in 1545. The Pepysian Library contains a French translation of 1550 [No. 2455], and an English translation of 1581 [No. 2059].

[2] An officer appointed at the court-leet for the assize of bread and beer sold within its jurisdiction.

[3] 'In 32 H. 6, with the Earl of Salisbury and some other great lords, he undertook the guarding of the seas . . . for the space of three years, receiving the tonnage and poundage to support the charge thereof' (Dugdale, ii. 235). The authority quoted in the margin is '*ex autogr. penès Cler. Pell.*'

[4] See note on p. 1 above.

[5] Henry Shere, the military engineer, was knighted in July 1685, so this confirms the date of these entries suggested in the note on p. 169 above.

mentions him, was the first that taught the Algerines to sail by a bow-line; which therefore has not been invented above 80 years.[1]

Observe in the same years that the old King was most busy in pressing the business of ship-money, upon a declaration of the danger the kingdom was then in at sea, viz. 1636 and 1637, as appears in his writ of August 1635 and *mittimus* of 1637,[2] the Bishop of Canterbury excusing what, among other things, was objected by the Puritans of innovation in the Church, his leaving out the prayer for the Navy in the Book of Prayers for the Fast, 1636, says in 1637 in his speech in the Star Chamber that there was reason for it, the King neither the last year nor now having any declared enemy at sea, nor any navy abroad when the Book came out. *Vide* Rushworth's Appendix to the 3 vol., page 124, 177, 178, 173, 225.[3]

King Edward the 3rd sends to my Lord Mayor of London to tell him that the French were come and entered upon several ports of the kingdom with design to come to London. He commands them to shut up the City gates next the water,

[1] A bowline 'is a rope which is fastened to the leech or middle part of the outside of the sail, the use whereof is to make the sail stand the sharper or closer by a wind. The ancients, as it is reported, did ever sail before the wind, the reason whereof I conceive to be because they had not the knowledge and use of this rope' (Mainwaring, ii. 107). The date of this is *c.* 1620. Donne took part in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596, so he had some knowledge of the sea. His first printed work appeared in 1610.

[2] The first ship-money writ was dated October 20, 1634; the second, August 4, 1635; and the third, October 9, 1636. On February 2, 1637, the case was remitted to the judges for their opinion.

[3] See Rushworth, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 124.

and put all their men in arms to defend it. Rushworth, Appendix, vol. 3rd, pages 197, 204.[1]

Idem, page 199, says how the same king required Chichester to provide against such a day at Portsmouth, to join with the King's ships, *unam navem et duos esculariosde guerrâ*.[2]

The first round-robin which I meet with at sea is in Rushworth, vol. 1st, page 329.[3]

Idem, page 331. Mr. Edward Nicholas is mentioned as the Duke of Buckingham's Secretary.[4]

King James in a speech to the Parliament, 1620,[5] setting forth his good management of his revenue against some discourses then stirring to the contrary, shews that he had abated 10,000*l.* a year in his usual expenses and 25,000*l.* in his Navy, and hoped shortly to abate 10,000*l.* more. Dr. Nalson's Introduction, page 11.[6]

[1] Writ of 12 Edw. III. The references are as in the text.

[2] 'For so it appeareth by another record of the same year, viz. 13 Edw. 3 . . . where a writ was directed to the Admiral of the Fleet . . . reciting where the King by his writ to the Town of Chichester had commanded the Mayor and Communalty there that they should make *unam navem et duos esculariosde guerra parari*, with mariners and men-at-arms to be at Portsmouth such a day to go with the King's ships.' *Esculariosde* must be victualling-ships.

[3] This occurs in connexion with the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham in 1626, when it was said that a ship's company had sent a petition to their commander 'subscribing their names to the petition in a circle or compass, that it might not appear who was the beginner of the same.' The reference to Rushworth is to p. 325 in the edition of 1659.

[4] Edward Nicholas (p. 327).

[5] January 30, 1620[–1].

[6] Dr. John Nalson's *Impartial Collection*, pp. vii–xiv (edition of 1682).

D[uke] of Buckingham, in his answer to the article about his neglect of the guard of the seas, tells how many ships since the time of hostility were now kept abroad more than heretofore, and says that it was from their swift sailing that the ships of Dunkirk did us so much hurt, and that therefore we are now going to build in such a mould as should match them in their own way. Rushworth, vol. 1, page 385.[1]

He tells us also in the same defence what he had done in his time to put the Navy in good repair and yet lessen the charge of the Navy. But all his said charge and defence, and indeed all Rushworth's Collections and Nalson's,[2] ought to be throughly read over, as yielding several useful notes about our sea-affairs.

And particularly the Duke's reasons for his desire of joining the two offices of Admiral and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

Idem, page 405. D[uke] of B[uckingham] accused[3] by the Parliament of getting one of their members (who was against him) to be sent Secretary to the last fleet that he might be out of the way. His name, Mr. Glanvill, a lawyer.[4]

Ibid., page 418, the King in a declaration owns the great depredations upon the northern coasts, and assigns the forfeitures of recusants to go towards the maintaining of six ships to guard the said coasts.[5]

[1] Pp. 381–2 of Rushworth, vol. i.
[2] See note on p. 174 above.
[3] MS. 'excused.'
[4] Rushworth (edition of 1659), i. 401: the intended Remonstrance of 1626 against the Duke of Buckingham.
[5] *Ib.* i. 414.

Ibid., page 419, the King there and a little before declares his expectations of an invasion from Spain, and therefore looks out to borrow money of London, etc.[1]

Also ships are ordered to be set forth by the several maritime counties and ports, and particularly London, 20, etc.[2] *Ibid.*, page 420, among other things, people living near the coasts are commanded to repair home and keep there to secure the King in case of invasion.[3]

Ibid., page 426, the Council Board directs the Commissioners of the Navy to press those of the meaner sort (in the Savoy, St. Andrew's, and other parishes thereabouts) to sea that would not subscribe to the King's loan.[4]

Keep a through-deduction [5] of the beginning and progress of the invention of lead-sheathing in the Navy.[6]

Mr. Gibson [7] tells me that Sir Walter Raleigh gave 50*l.* or some other good sum for a foreign journal, which he found so well kept, and that was the manner of former times, to keep their journals so as that any man might follow them exactly to the same places by the help of them only. *Q.* what journal that was.

What could the naval strength of this nation be when the Crown had no other force at sea in

[1] Rushworth i. 410, 415.
[2] *Ib.* i. 415.
[3] *Ib.* i. 416.
[4] *Ib.* i. 422.
[5] In the sense of a detailed account.
[6] On the history of lead-sheathing, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, vol. ii. p. xxxiv, and vol. iii. p. xlvii. See also *Letter to the Earl of Marlborough*, 1691, by T. H. (possibly Thomas Hayter), which contains the 'large reply' of the Milled Lead Company to criticisms, 'drawn by the excellent pen of Mr. Pepys' (p. xxvi).
[7] See note on p. 23 above.

the case of invasion than the command of what ships and stores it could find from the merchants? And what would that do at this day, whatever it did then? And therein is our policy quite altered, our neighbours being so much stronger than before, and there being a quite different use and service for men-of-war now than there was then, when merchants' vessels and those of war were the same. And that this is all the naval help the Crown had within its command is abundantly asserted in Rushw[orth] in the argument against Ship-money.[1]

History of the Royal Society, page 171,[2] gives an account of their sending *quaeries* to the Dutch Governor of Batavia, and particularly for information about St. Helena and Ascension. *Vide* the original instructions at large to be seen at the College,[3] what it was they askt and the Governor's answer.

Dr. Gale[4] tells me of an instance of a piece of land that appears in Domesday Book to have been given by the Conqueror to a certain person in exchange for a ship.

Consider the imperfections of that learned man Dr. Wilkins in his chapter of Naval Relation.[5]

Q[uaere] the beginning of the Court of the Admiralty's badge, being the Oar; and observe in what other places the same badge is used, as

[1] Rushworth, ii. 481–598.

[2] Bishop Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667): pp. 158–172 in the edition of 1702.

[3] Gresham College, the home of the Royal Society.

[4] Pepys's friend, Dr. Thomas Gale, High Master of St. Paul's School and afterwards Dean of York.

[5] Dr. John Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character* (1668) is referred to with appreciation in Pepys's *Diary*. In 1668 the author was appointed Bishop of Chester. Chapter xi. of Part II. is entitled 'Naval Relation.'

particularly it is carried before the Mayor of Harwich ;[1] intimating our valuing ourselves in our Admiralty originally from rowing and not from sailing.

Dr. Gale[2] tells me of an instance he has met with in a MSS. book of the Annals of Wakefield, where 18 of our Cinque Ports ships beat an hundred Frenchmen, taking all but 15 of them, viz. in the last year of King John or 1st of Henry the 3rd.[3]

Hollinshed in Richard the 2nd, page 417, tells us of divers sea-towns of ours burnt by the French, with a very particular account thereof.[4]

Q[*uaere*] where was the place of our Master Attendant at the Coronation, whether among the masters of standing offices or elsewhere.

Memorandum. That the Saxons had a long and narrow ship which they called *cnear.*

Florentius Wigorniensis, *annis* 1012 and 1013, gives a very good account of the oppositions of the Danes.[5]

Sutton's Hospital[6] provide for merchants undone by piracy, as if that were an evil that England was and should be ever subject to, and this settled by the Lords the Governors and letters patents after his death.

Memorandum, that neither Sutton himself nor

[1] See note on p. 136 above. An account of the similar oars used elsewhere is given in the *Archaeological Journal* for 1873 and 1874, but Harwich is not among the places mentioned.

[2] See note on p. 177, above.

[3] This was Hubert de Burgh's victory over Eustace the Monk off Sandwich in August 1217.

[4] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (4 Ric. II), ii. 731.

[5] *Chronicon Florentii Wigornensis* (ed. B. Thorpe, 1848), i. 165 ff.

[6] See note on p. 159 above.

his subsequent Governors made any provision for old or maimed seamen, but only for soldiers maimed by land or sea.

Nor in that part of that Foundation which provides for increase of knowledge was there any thoughts had by either of them of improving the Theory of Navigation, or so much as making the Lord Admiral of England (like some other Great Officers) one of the standing Governors thereof. But what is yet more, my Lord Bacon himself, in his long letter to King James giving advice about the improving of this Foundation,[1] differed in all the parts of it from what was first designed by Sutton, and industriously reckoning up those particulars of knowledge wherein England was then most unprovided for, wholly omit[s] the business of navigation and seamen. Besides that it is to be remembered that Sutton raised a great part of his estate as a Victualler of the Navy, as a Commissioner of Prizes, his being interested in letters of marque [2] and prizes taken thereby, and as a great dealer in foreign trade.[3]

Look over all Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, and particularly that of Car. 17, cap. 31.[4]

[1] Written *c.* January 1612. See Bacon, *Works* (ed. Spedding), iv. 249–54.

[2] MS. ' marke.'

[3] According to the *D.N.B.* (lv. 186), the foundations of Thomas Sutton's fortune were Durham coal-mines and a wealthy marriage, and there is no proof that he was ever a victualler of the navy or a commissioner of prizes, or that he profited by letters of marque.

[4] 17 Car. I, c. 31, an Act ' for the relief of captives,' refers to the depredations of Turkish and other pirates, and gives a quarter of the value of captured pirate ships as prize-money to the mariners who take them. It also states that customs had been illegally levied without consent of Parliament, and if legally taken, they should have been assigned to the safeguard of the seas (John Scobell, *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, p. 22).

Remember the oversight of our Ministers and Admiral[1] in 1682 sending orders to Admiral Herbert[2] to cease from all hostility against those of Sally[3] without any provision made by the Morocco-Ambassador, then here, for their doing the like. By which 21 or 22 English ships and vessels were afterwards taken and carried in by them without any breach of faith, while our fleet lay there with their hands bound.

Observe the imperfections of Admiral Herbert's peace with Algiers, *anno* 1682,[4] in the several particulars thereof.

And particularly in the business of passes,[5] the mistake in the form of the pass, and the consequences thereof to the dishonour of England and its Admiral, worthy to be collected and remembered.

Observe the improvident issue of the project, 1681 and 1682, of furnishing Ireland with 6 ships of war to be maintained out of the revenue of that kingdom, being calculated to have cost the King in all the circumstances thereof 100,000*l.* in the fitting forth and keeping in pay and victuals so many ships from all other services, without any effect or benefit to his Majesty to this month of January 1682–3, when the thing is yet as much unsettled as ever it was.

Observe the public inscription set up at Dort in memory of Cornelius De Wit to the infamy

[1] *I.e.* the collective Admiralty. Unlike its predecessor, the Commission of 1679–84 had entire control of naval affairs.

[2] Admiral Arthur Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington.

[3] Sallee.

[4] Herbert's treaty with Algiers was made in April 1682.

[5] On the rules for Algiers passes established by Order in Council of May 11, 1682, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, vol. iii. pp. xx–xxii.

of England upon the score of the business at Chatham.

A PARTICULAR OF THE EVILS PRETENDED IN PARLIAMENT AT THEIR INJURIOUS CENSURING OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NAVY 1678 AND 1679.

1. All its officers Papists, and D[uke of] Y[ork]'s creatures.
2. Passes unnecessary, chargeable, and unduly issued.
3. Seamen discouraged.
4. Gentlemen commanders.
5. Stores empty.
6. Ships decayed.
7. New ships unfinished.
8. Money misapplied.
9. Ill husbandry.
10. Extravagant medium.[1]

Q[uaere] how the conduct of the Navy is mended in every or any of these particulars by the new set of the Commissioners, pickt (for the most part) out of the fore-mentioned fault-finders in Parliament.[2]

Q[uaere] what is there to be found in my Lord Bacon's *Advancement of Learning, Novum Organum, Natural History,* or any other of his works, towards the improvement or otherwise relating to sea-affairs.

[1] 'Medium' was used in the navy for the average rate per man at which the cost of victuals or pay was calculated.

[2] On the new Admiralty Commission of 1679 see note on p. 180 above. The Committee of the House of Commons which reported against Pepys and Deane in 1679 included 35 members appointed by name. Of these only Sir Thomas Meres and Sir Henry Capel were appointed to the Commission of 1679.

Sir Richard Haddocke[1] tells me (1682), with great complaint, that the establishment of men and guns which I took so much pains to procure[2] is now broken into.

What Great Officers of State have we, and particularly that of the Constable of the Tower, of elder date than our Admiral?

Observe that the Act about Sea-marks in the 8th of Queen Elizabeth is printed short as a private Act.[3] [4]Compare it with the old edition.[4]

Memorandum. My Lord Coke in his chapter of Beacons, etc.,[5] shewing in what fear this nation has always been of invasion.

Consider the Act for the Preservation of the timber in the Forest of Deane.[6]

Ditto that of Henry 8th, *anno* 4, cap. 1, about bulwarks, walls, etc., on the sea-side in Cornwall.[7]

Consider the folly of that resolution of our Mathematical Committee in Christ's Hospital, read in Court the 19th of February, 1682[–3], about our Mathematical Master's being permitted to be absent 20 days to go to view our sea-coasts[8];

[1] Sir Richard Haddock had been appointed Comptroller of the Navy on February 2, 1682.

[2] On the establishment of November 3, 1677, the credit for which was claimed by Pepys, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 233.

[3] See note on p. 84 above.

[4] These six words are added in Pepys's own hand.

[5] *Fourth Institute*, c. 25.

[6] On this Act of 1668 (19 & 20 Car. II, c. 8), see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 50 *n.*, and note on p. 170 above.

[7] These were fortifications against invasion from Brittany.

[8] Edward Pagett, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was appointed Mathematical Master at Christ's Hospital in 1682, was a good mathematician but weak in navigation (E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, pp. 112–13), and this must have been a rather absurd attempt to remedy the defect.

the same being again proposed to me at Trinity House, May 1683, by Sir Mathew Andrews,[1] that he might have accommodation given him upon one of the ships designed shortly to attend upon the King to the western. But to what purpose, he not having (as I believe) ever yet seen the sea, seems a ridiculous thing to consider in a man of his particular employment.

Note Mr. Flamstead's[2] observation about the mistakes of our seamen to this very day in the doctrine of the tide of this very river. *Vide Philosophical Transactions*, January 1682–3.[3]

Run through the particular qualifications of our whole lists of Admirals, as to their being men either of pleasure, or at least generally men of quite another education than that of the sea.

Witsen, in his Book of Dutch Shipwrightry,[4] says they have schools to teach the mechanic part of shipbuilding, where strangers may come and learn as well as natives.

Q[*uaere*] how to get that book translated into English,—Mr. Houblon.[5]

Dr. Gale[6] shewed me in his copy of extract[s] of Domesday Book that there was a mill at Dover

[1] Mathew Andrews of Walton-upon-Thames was knighted April 16, 1675, on board an East India ship (W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, ii. 250).

[2] John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal.

[3] See note on p. 92 above.

[4] Nicolas Witsen of Amsterdam, whose book on naval architecture was published in 1671. See p. 127 above.

[5] Pepys had already prevailed on his friend James Houblon to make him an abstract of this work, which was sent to him on October 18, 1679 (Lady Alice Archer Houblon, *The Houblon Family*, i. 208).

[6] See note on p. 177 above.

complained of at that time for doing wrong to ships, by their running and breaking themselves against it when the sea was rough.

He shewed me also in Glocestershire mention of one that enjoyed something of the King to find (together with a quantity of honey and other things) eight bars of iron to make nails for the King's ships.

Also that the Burgenses of Dover, in consideration of their being freed from Sack and Sock,[1] were to find the King once in a year for 15 days 20 ships with 21 men upon each.

Also it is there said that they should give passage to a horse over to France in winter for 3*d.* and in summer for 2*d.*, and to find a steerman and one man more at their charge; but if it be required more, the King must pay them.

Q[*uaere*] whether there be remaining at this day at Yarmouth any families of the names of those that appear to have been taken out of that place to be Admirals.

The story seems to be remarkable which is told by Hollinshed (1512) of the two Howards Admirals,[2] and this in diverse respects.

[1] *Sac and soc* were certain rights of jurisdiction belonging to the lord of a manor.

[2] Sir Edward Howard, son of the second Duke of Norfolk, Lord High Admiral 1513, lost his life in March of that year, in attempting to cut out some French galleys anchored in Whitsand Bay to wait for an opportunity to pass into Brest. His elder brother, Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk, was made Lord High Admiral in his place on May 2, 1513 (see Holinshed, iii. 575–6). His father, Thomas Howard the second Duke, was Lord Treasurer from 1501 to 1522, so the statements in the text on this page and the next are correct.

Observe what I think will appear out of Heylin's Succession of the Nobility, etc.,[1] that Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was both Treasurer and Lord High Admiral of England at the same time; or at least the father Treasurer and the son Admiral about 1512 or 1513.

And somebody else I find in his list that was Lord Chancellor and Lord High Admiral.[2]

But above all in these last mentioned years of King Henry 8th observe what men were Admirals, viz. great courtiers that had nothing of sea-experience; and how in Sir Edward Howard's case and misfortune at Brest he was principally advised by a Spaniard.[3]

Dugdale tells us in his *Baronage* of the great Earl of Warwick the Admiral, that he was called the Great Captain of the Sea.[4]

The word *buscarli* signified the men of the Cinque Ports. *Vide* Spelman, where *snaccum* is also used for some sort of vessels. I find the word to be in the Saxon *snaca* and *snacu*.[5]

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, is said by Sir William Dugdale in his *Baronage* to have

[1] Peter Heylyn, *A Help to English History* (edition of 1680), p. 415.

[2] It was not 'somebody else.' The third Duke, Lord High Admiral in 1513, was joint Keeper of the Great Seal for a few days in October 1529, after the fall of Wolsey and before the appointment of Sir Thomas More as Chancellor. But at this time he had ceased to be Lord High Admiral.

[3] 'A Spanish knight called Sir Alphonso Charant' (Holinshed, iii. 575).

[4] Dugdale, i. 306: the reference is to Warwick the Kingmaker.

[5] *Snacc*, for a small vessel, occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. *Snaca* or *snacu* is a snake.

fought, etc., Sir Andrew Barton the great pirate in the 3rd of King Henry 8th.[1]

Knighton,[2] *anno* 1360, makes use of the word *Marisarcus* for a sea-commander or admiral, and says also that the Churchmen themselves were fain to go to sea to defend the kingdom against the French.

Observe the little use, or rather total neglect, of that admirable model of the Royal James[3] (I think it is) made and given to Christ's Hospital by Sir A. Deane.

Reflect upon the statute of the 33rd of Henry 8th for the regulating of fishing; shewing mighty particularly the evils attending the neglect of that trade.[4] Which statute is summarily mentioned at the close of the Appendix to the English *Mare Clausum*, and is there said to have been expired ever since Queen Mary's time.[5]

Enquire what houses our kings have ever had near the sea besides Greenwich, and the history old and new of that place; and what others they may have had, but all for their pleasure or other considerations, within land.

[1] 'In 3 H. 8 he commanded in one of those ships which chased, fought with, and took that famous pirate, Sir Andrew Barton, knight' (Dugdale, ii. 272). The encounter took place on August 2, 1511. The knighthood attributed to Barton here and in the famous ballad is probably fictitious (*D.N.B.* iii. 340).

[2] Henry Knighton, *Leycestrensis Chronicon* (Rolls Series, ed. J. R. Lumby), i. 110.

[3] Probably the third James Royal, a 1st-rate, built at Portsmouth in 1675 by Sir Anthony Deane.

[4] 33 Henr. VIII, c. 2, is directed against the buying of fish in Flanders, or from strangers at sea, to be sold within the realm, but the preamble is a dissertation upon the value of the fisheries.

[5] Appendix on 'The Riches and Commodities of the British Seas' (p. 498).

March, 1682–3. The Navy Officers are said about this time to have declared in one of their estimates their having but 5000*l.* worth of stores in magazine towards the repairs of the old and new ships.[1]

Mr. James Pearce junior[2] tells me, March 1682–3, that the Chest at Chatham is at this day full three years in arrears, and that it is said moreover to owe the King 10,000*l.* for moneys already advanced to it ; and that the Lords of the Treasury have promised to supply them with money for one year's pay in May next.

The Lord Dartmouth[3] tells me that he has two calculations of the state of the Navy in Queen Elizabeth's time, or two Discourses of the Navy.

Observe that our Parliaments have ever been (in my time at least) very forward in their complaints of the bad payments of the Navy, and particularly to the seamen ; and I have in particular made it my business to improve any occasion given of opening the same to them, to the end they might make some effectual provision for remedying the same. Whereas when they have seen it and found they could place no blame upon N[avy] O[fficers] for it, they have never proceeded further for it, nor provided any relief for the seamen, the Ministers of the Government and Officers of the Treasury always finding some ways, either by diversion or prorogation, to prevent the charge's being brought and fastened upon them, who alone ought to bear it ; and the

[1] The 'new' ships are those built under the Act of 1677 (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 48, 223–4).

[2] Perhaps a son of Dr. James Pearse, the Chirurgeon-General of the Navy (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 137).

[3] Colonel George Legge had been created Baron Dartmouth on December 2, 1682.

general design of Parliaments have never been the taking a real care of the seamen, but exercising their ill will to the King's Officers. And that failing them, they ceased to trouble themselves further about it.

Remember how often I have pressed the Trinity House (before Collins[1] went ever about it) to the taking into their own hands the sounding of our coasts, and particularly at the time when Adams,[2] Collins, and Seller[3] were all pretending to go about it, applying themselves severally to us for our countenance to them therein to the King. But we neglecting, it fell into Collins's hands by virtue of his having served the King and being thereby known to him, his R[oyal] H[ighness], the N[avy] O[fficers], Colonel Legg,[4] myself, etc., and coming to the Trinity House, after he had been one voyage to the westward upon it, for our subscriptions to his encouragement, the House would have contented themselves to take off only two or three of his books when the work was done. But I advised (since they thought fit to encourage and thereby own him in a work of theirs) that they should make it their own by making him a Younger Brother, and obliging him by promise to publish nothing of his work without their approval; giving him 50*l.* as a present from their particular bounty to encourage him. All which fell out in the years 1680, 1681, and 1682. But now in March 1682–3 he complains to me of discouragement from the King by not having the money he promised him. Nor has, he says, any encouragement from the Admiralty in particular, other than the use of the

[1] See note on p. 125 above.
[2] See note on p. 165 above.
[3] See note on p. 11 above.
[4] See note on p. 187 above.

vessel assigned him by the King ; of which *quaere* further. And then it is most fit to consider how far a single man is to be trusted alone in a business of this weight and nature, especially if we suffer him to go about it under any real or pretended discouragement. And this I have observed to the Trinity House, advising that for their own honours and the public good they would send one along with him, or have some of their own number to do it. Moreover Collins would have a warrant, or at least be entertained by them, and have the character of their Hydrographer, as by warrant from the Lord Chamberlain he has that of the King, which I opposed for the sake of the House, this being no less than to confer on him both the honour and trust that it enjoys from the Crown relating to this particular matter, and might bring upon them, by writing himself their officer in that capacity, an accountableness for all his mistakes and their ill consequences. Nevertheless being favoured in it by the present Master, the Duke of Grafton,[1] they would not be prevailed with to the contrary, but entertained him under that title, but with so much regard to my motion, that he should promise not to put the title of our Hydrographer upon anything to be published by him without its being first viewed and approved of by this House. Of which nevertheless no care was taken for any mention to be made in the Journal of the House till, upon my observing it, I drew a memorial to that purpose and had it ordered to be entered.

Gazette, 1683. Trinity House gives advice about something relating to their light at Winter-

[1] Henry Fitzroy, first Duke of Grafton, a son of Charles II by Lady Castlemaine, was Master of the Trinity House 1682–83.

ton,[1] and notice was taken at a meeting of the House of April the 3rd of a ship lost there, her master in a letter imputing the same to want of this notice; which the House says they did give immediately by *Gazette* as soon as the thing happened.

Who were the Barons of the Cinque Ports that were abused by the King's footmen at the last Coronation?[2] *Q.*

Dr. Gale,[3] in order to the proving the antiquity of the Warden of the Cinque Ports, inclines to think that by the word *Gorong* is truly to be understood (G and W being generally convertible heretofore) *Warden*, and not any particular person, as is ordinarily supposed, where King Wortigean is said to have overlookt Kent and given Kent to Hengest. Which is confirmed by Camden's making *Gorong* (in his *Brittannia* as I take it[4]) to be an officer of that title and not the name of a particular person.

He tells me that there has been an ancient controversy between London and Winchester about the office of Butlerage at the King's Coronation, and that one Coronation Day was put off upon that dispute.

Collect good notes out of Sir Robert Cotton's posthumous discourses about the ways used by our kings to supply their estates,[5] and his discourse against foreign war.

[1] There had been a light at Winterton as early as 1613 (C. R. B. Barrett, *The Trinity House*, p. 46).

[2] See note on p. 157 above. [3] See note on p. 177 above.

[4] 'Vortigern set over Kent a *Guorong*, i.e. a Vice-roy or Freeman' (*Britannia*, edition of 1695, p. 187; see also p. 213).

[5] A tract written for James I in 1611, and included in *Cottoni Posthuma* (163–200), printed in 1657. Cotton's *Discourse of Foreign War* was also first printed in 1657.

It appears by an indorsement under Sir Julius Caesar's own hand that in 1587 the Lord Treasurer Burleigh did sign passports out of the Admiralty as Deputy Lord Admiral.[1]

Get a clear historical deduction [2] of the several periods of our having and not having possession upon the sea-coasts and provinces of France.

Q[*uaere*] the debts of the Navy at the death of Queen Elizabeth in proportion to the yearly charge thereof at that time, as one means of comparing the public care had of the Navy then and now.

How came it to pass that the English have been admitted everywhere abroad for such great gunners ?

The less wonder that our admirals and great seamen have rarely, if ever, raised estates by it ; for that their employment generally keeps them at distance out of sight, and out of the way of soliciting their private profit, while others at home have therein all the advantage of them. The seaman's services also are by this means not seen.

Nor are the reasons of the great expenses of the Navy generally capable of being understood by land-ministers, and therefore so liable to be censured and grumbled at.

Consider the little or no improvement in our shipping till of late years, for a nation so much

[1] Burghley's patent of appointment as Deputy Lord Admiral, dated December 20, 1587, is among the *Hatfield MSS.* (xiii. 351). Sir Julius Caesar (1558–1636) was Judge of the Admiralty Court at the time of the Armada.

[2] See note on p. 176 above.

pretending to dealings at sea, if our dealings had been as great as we pretend; we having done more therein in the last 40 years than in 500 before.

Is not our prohibiting of old the exportation of horses one full instance of the long ignorance of this nation in the good of its own trade?

In Plutarch's Life of Demosthenes mariners are brought in as an instance of the meanest sort of speakers; though Dr. Gale shews me from the original that our English translation renders it worse than it ought; and as a guess at the ground of this expression tells me that there is an old Greek proverb that reproaches sailors for ill speaking.

Mr. Larrey of Christ's Hospital tells me, upon my asking him it, that in all the Wills of Benefactors which he has perused he does not remember to have ever met with any charity provided for the relief of old, poor, or lame seamen or their families.

April 17, 1683. Sir A. Deane, Mr. Hewer, and myself being this day at Woolwich and Deptford at the launching of the Neptune[1] at the latter, we were, to our great confusion and sorrow, eye-witnesses of the great emptiness of those yards as to all out-stores; several hundred of workmen standing still every day therein, without any other service done by them than coming to their daily calls, for want of materials to employ them on; and this though at Deptford there does remain a good quantity of small timber in the back-yard, which they dare not meddle with as being left of the thirty new ships,[2]

[1] A 2nd-rate, built at Deptford by Mr. John Shish.
[2] See note on p. 13 above.

of which this Neptune is the 29th that is finished and launched.

Sir A. Deane undertakes to shew me how a ship may be built wholly of straight timber where compass [1] is not to be had.

Sir John Tippets [2] told me also at table this day that the timber remaining in the King's own forests is such, and has been ever since his time, that it had been better for the King it had been burnt than employed upon any of the ships; so much and soon have the ships [built] therewith been always by him observed to decay, by reason of the timber being suffered to stand about an hundred years too long, and that arising principally (as he observed) from their not building ships at all, or not in number and of sizes sufficient to employ it. To which let me add, the principal use of the forests being to serve the kings in their pleasures and their ministers to their profits.

Q[*uaere*] of Sir A. Deane and others what improvements, either in shipbuilding or navigation in general, has been made since those reckoned up by Sir Walter Raleigh in his printed Essays thereon.[3]

Observe that there is no bow-line in Holben's pictures of ships, and two mizen-masts, in the Whitehall Gallery. And *quaere* whether they be so in my long Roll of Ships of that age.[4]

[1] Compass-timber = curved timber.

[2] Sir John Tippetts, formerly master-shipwright at Portsmouth, had been Surveyor of the Navy since 1672.

[3] *Judicious and Select Essays and Observations . . . upon the First Invention of Shipping, the Misery of Invasive War, the Navy Royal and Sea Service . . .* (1650).

[4] Anthony Anthony's *Declaration of the Royal Navy of England* (1546), No. 2991 in the Pepysian Library.

Sir Walter Raleigh says expressly in his forementioned Essays that we never had any dominion at sea till Henry the 8th's time; but that we were sometimes beaten and sometimes did beat.[1] *Q.* how it was in and since his time.

Our King's being a seaman has appeared rather to have rendered our navigation worse than better, by reason of our commanders and officers (especially gentlemen) finding so easy access and talk to him, and thereby insinuating things to and obtaining orders from him without being duly considered in their proper place, to the great contempt of his Officers of his Admiralty and Navy; especially where those of the Admiralty are so little knowing in the business of their office as they are now.[2] Whereas where a king is wholly unskilful, he is the less apt to entertain motions upon that subject himself, but refers all to his proper ministers.

Nevertheless as to the present time, never was such an opportunity as was now for the setting things right in the Navy if those Commissioners had known how to have improved it, forasmuch as being brought in by the King out of the House of Commons not so much out of choice as by popular constraint, his Majesty would probably have agreed to any rules that these men should have proposed for the Navy's benefit, as not being at any easy liberty to deny them, nor so subject to be prevailed upon by any contrary interpositions by this or that less pertinent,

[1] 'Which dominion I do not find that it was ever absolute till the time of Henry the Eighth' ('A Discourse of the Invention of Ships . . .' *Works*, viii. 321).

[2] On Pepys's criticisms of the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 60 ff.

more ignorant, or self-interested officers or others that would have opposed them.

And yet this also must be owned, that no degree either of knowledge, good will, or industry in an Admiral can suffice for this work, until an express fund be appropriated by Act of Parliament to the service of the Navy and made indivertible therefrom.

And yet that that alone will not suffice neither to do the business, without a knowing, powerful, and vigilant Admiral and Officers of the Navy to improve the same, is most evident from the present instance of the infinite ill-husbandry exercised in the building of the 30 new ships, for which not only a sufficiency of money was provided and appropriated by Parliament but actually received and always in bank; as is alleged already to be proved by Sir A. Deane.

In Dr. Heylin's Book of Reformation he largely and particularly observes that our navigation never became great till King Edward the 6th, giving the reason thereof.[1]

Look up my letter to Sir A[nthony] D[eane] prophesying beforehand the ill construction his voyage into France in the year 1675 might be subject to.[2]

Sir William Petty observes that in the Civil

[1] 'The English in the time foregoing [*i.e.* before Edward VI] being neither strong in shipping nor much accustomed to the seas, received all such commodities as were not of the growth of their own country from the hands of strangers resorting hither from all parts to upbraid our laziness' (*Ecclesia Restaurata*, edition of 1670, 'History of Edward 6,' p. 108).

[2] On Deane's voyage to France in July 1675 to carry over the two yachts which he had built for Louis XIV, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iii. p. xlvii.

Law the mariner is always reckoned among those which that Law styles *miserabiles personae.*

Never any pictures to be met with among us, either ancient or modern, of persons of any quality drawn in the habit of seamen, but all as soldiers or in some other dress.

Sir Robert Robinson was heard to swear at Cales,[1] upon his staying there and applying himself wholly to the getting money without regarding the King's service, that he had got an hundred pounds to buy his peace when he came home, as he had heretofore. In pursuance of which he got the merchants there to make an address to go out upon their errand, he saying that as soon as he got out of the Channel he neither was nor would be at anybody's command; for he knew how to buy his peace at home. And accordingly, though he failed the last time to buy his peace, but on the contrary was fined for his misdemeanours in 500*l.* by a council of war, yet he is said to have done as good by getting himself afterwards discharged of that fine. So as to what purpose is it for any Admiral or Secretary of the Admiralty to think of ever maintaining any good discipline in the Navy when such ways are open for escaping it? Remember to get copies of the proceedings of this court-martial,[2] and an account of the discharge of this fine.

This was said by a young merchant at Mr. J. H.'s[3] table, May 1683, lately come from Spain,

[1] *I.e.* Cadiz. On the standing abuse of commanders neglecting the King's service in order to carry merchants' goods, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 192 ff.

[2] MS. 'court-marshal.'

[3] No doubt Pepys's friend, James Houblon the merchant. He was afterwards knighted (1692).

who also observed to us how much the expense of fish in Spain grows every day less and less, to the great decay of our West Country fishing trade by the looseness to which the [1] Spaniards are come in their observation of Lent.

He also told us how much the French are come to out-do us in the goodness of their fish brought from Newfoundland, as also in their industry, and cheapness of living and sailing.

Dr. Gale [2] prompts me to enquire after a book delivered by Mr. Kniveton, January 4, 1610[–11] to my Lord Privy Seal [3] (which I think was one of the Howards, Lord of Northampton and at the same time Warden of the Cinque Ports : *Q.* Sir William Dugdale) concerning Dover and those five ports ; that Dr. seeming to have met with a calendar of the records contained therein.

Though I had more reasons than most others, as having so many and great charges upon my hands without any written commission and acting under a Prince without any other warrant than the word of his mouth,[4] yet never did I, nor would be prevailed with to take out a pardon, though most of the greatest Ministers of State have and do, and particularly my Lord of Shaftesbury ; and though I could have had it with as much ease and ask it upon better ground than any of them, considering the many points of consequence worthy collection and enumeration

[1] MS. ' they.' [2] See note on p. 177 above.

[3] The Lord Privy Seal in 1611 was Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. He had been Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports since 1604.

[4] On the wide powers exercised by Charles II as Lord High Admiral during the tenure of the Admiralty Commission of 1673–9, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. p. xxxiii f.

wherein I was concerned to do my office as Secretary of the Admiralty without any other justification than the King's verbal command. And yet in the greatest heat in Parliament, when my Lord Treasurer Danby, both the Secretaries of State, and other the King's Ministers did all of them publicly in Parliament take to themselves the benefit of the King's name for their security in justifying their several managements, and thereby leaving upon the King (whether justly or unjustly I do not enquire) the answering whatever was thought amiss in the government, I did never, in the midst of all their persecutions and charges of mismanagement in the Navy, with their personal applications of the same to me under the envious name of Admiral, I say I did never once resort for my defence to the making use of the King's commands, but took upon myself at my own hazard the justifying every act that had passed the Admiralty and Navy through my hands from the true and necessary reasons of it, and no other. And this with such success as, when they found themselves defeated of all just occasions of censure upon me in my public capacity, they were driven to serve themselves with unjust ones in my private.

Memorandum. That in October 1675 (the year wherein that charge of private disloyalty is founded against me for the betraying the navigation of England [1]) it appears how active I was in that very month in my oppositions at Trinity

[1] The Committee of the House of Commons which reported on May 20, 1679, charged Pepys and Deane that they did 'in conspiracy together cause divers maps and sea journals to be made,' with draughts and models of the King's ships, and that these had been carried over by Deane to the French Government when he visited Versailles in 1675.

House upon the attempt made by Angell to the prejudice and burthen of navigation about his light upon the Sporne [1]; and therein observe the particular exception taken against his and Sir John Clayton's liberty of erecting lights[2] to the wrong of navigation, without order and without due publishing thereof.

Q[*uaere*] also the time and observe the success of my doing the like in Parliament against Mr. Neal's long and violent solicitations, favoured by the Court, about the project of Yarrow-slick in the River of Newcastle, and the letter of thanks given me for the same from that town.[3]

Colonel Legg [4] tells me that he has an account of the state of our Navy in the Queen's time, and several particular things relating to the action in '88, seeming to wonder at the burdens assigned to several of the ships of that time. *Q.* the same.

[1] 'Reports from the Trinity House, petitions, and other papers, respecting the erection of two lighthouses by Justinian Angell at the Spurn-head on the Humber' are among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian (A. 182, ff. 5, 6, 26, 35–62, 72, 76–101, 123, 142, 151, 193–260). See also *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1677–78, p. 427.

[2] By a grant dated January 23, 1677, Sir John Clayton had been authorised to erect four lighthouses—at Corton, Cromer, Flamborough Head, and Ferne Island, and to charge dues, but he had a 2½ years' contest before he could get it confirmed. In 1680 he was petitioning to surrender the grant on the ground that having spent £3000 he had made no profit (*ib.* 1680–81, p. 120).

[3] 'Papers of arguments between the Trinity House at Newcastle and the Trinity House at Deptford relating to a dispute about the erection of a ballast-shore at Jarrow Slake, near South Shields, 1670' are among the Rawlinson MSS. (A. 182, ff. 1, 12, 66–9, 511); as also a letter of thanks to Pepys from the Mayor and Burgesses of Newcastle 'for opposing in Parliament a project of Mr. Neale's about Jarrow Slake,' dated March 27, 1677 (A. 185, f. 137). For other papers on the same subject see Macray's Catalogue under Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Jarrow Slake is a river bay.

[4] See note on p. 187 above.

He says also that my Lord Allington [1] did get from an engineer [2] of France an exact description of all the sea-ports of that kingdom, and has let him see them, as he believes he will me.

Sir William Petty observes that our King has pickt the very bones of all that is to be offered upon a single-bodied ship, and that that, with the imperfection still visible therein, first prompted him to the thinking what could be wrought out further upon a body of another shape, viz. that with a double bottom [3]; he observing that in all that has been done to this day, and the greatest part thereof by this King, upon a single bottom, nothing has outdone the Constant Warwick [4]; nor are we come so much as to pretend to out-sail [the] Turks, or if by chance at any time we do, it is lookt upon by us as matter for our utmost boasting, who yet are known to build wholly without art, as also our own Mr. Page of Wivenhoe,[5] Baily of Bristol[6] (both famous for building good sailers), and old Mr. Shish at Deptford [7] are well known to be, who all depended upon their eyes, the two former never pretending to the laying down of a draught, their knowledge lying in their hands so confusedly, so as they were not able themselves to render it intelligible to anybody

[1] Probably the Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State 1662–74. As he died July 28, 1685, the entry in the text must have been made before that date.

[2] MS. 'engenier.'

[3] See note on p. 106 above.

[4] See p. 15 above.

[5] MS. 'Weaveno.' In 1654 Mr. Page built the Milford, a 5th-rate, there. He also built five ketches for the navy, the earliest in 1650 and the latest in 1666.

[6] Francis Baylie of Bristol built two 3rd-rates, the Edgar in 1668 and the Northumberland in 1679, as well as three 4th-rates built between 1654 and 1674.

[7] There were three builders of this name, Jonas, John, and Thomas. 'Old Mr. Shish' is Jonas, the master-shipwright at Deptford, where he was afterwards succeeded by his son John.

else (like, to use his own similitude, a piece of writing scrawled over with the pen till it becomes unlegible) but shewing that the truth of ship-building does not lie in the niceness of lines but accommodating of the shape so as best to take in all the variety of uses and qualities we are led to desire in a ship. Forasmuch as he observes that if a facility of passing through the water without any other consideration was all we aimed at therein, the greatest length and least breadth of the floating body were indisputably the only best figure for it, and that as such the most ordinary wherry is the figure to be preferred before all others. But that forasmuch as there are multitudes of considerations to be taken in for the building a ship, so as to answer all the accidents and uses thereof, this he fixes is more to be hoped for from some other forms of built [1] than has yet or is ever to be expected upon the old principle of a single bottom.

And here I remember that Sir A[nthony] D[eane], at our late being at Deptford at the launching of the Neptune,[2] did observe to me, looking upon the vessels in the wet dock, a Turk prize apparently built of fragments of other broken ships (*Q.* her name [3]) very rudely put together.

Memorandum. That Mr. Speed in his Book of Maps gives in a particular map an account of all the several invasions made upon this kingdom.[4]

[1] An obsolete form of 'build.'

[2] See p. 192 above.

[3] Blank in the MS.

[4] John Speed's *Maps of England and Wales*, published between 1608 and 1610, were collected in 1611 in his *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*. The edition of 1676, to which Pepys was probably referring, contains under Devonshire a reference to invasions, but they are not shewn in a map.

The four lights of the Sporne,[1] Harwich, Tinmouth,[2] and S[c]illy, and the disputes about them, all worth enquiring into, observing the many passages about them, and how the proprietor of the last has by degrees still raised his demands upon us for his ground, upon the score (as is said) of his losing the benefit of wrecks. Which had its consideration in the rent he pays for the island to Sir William Godolphin.[3]

And observe also the evil of having lights raised by and for the profit of private men, and not for the good of the public or the relief of the poor seamen, their widows and orphans, from whom the same arises. As also how easy our lights and how high those of private men, and by what arts gained ; witness those of the three first belonging to Batten, Angell, and Villers.[4]

Note also the exception given in writing by our Trinity House to Angel's proceeding about his light, in setting it up without order and giving no public notice of it when done.[5]

Sir James Melvil's *Memoirs*, page 165,[6] tells

[1] Spurn. [2] Tynemouth.

[3] Sir William Godolphin, the son of Francis Godolphin, who had secured Scilly for Charles I at the outbreak of the Civil War. The father was knighted on April 23, and the son was created a baronet on April 29, 1661.

[4] Sir Edward Villiers, afterwards first Earl of Jersey. Papers relating to his controversy with the Trinity House about the Tynemouth lights are among the Rawlinson MSS. (A. 178, f. 128*b*, and 190, f. 91).

[5] A report from the Trinity House against Justinian Angell's lights on the Spurn Head, and other papers relating to the subject, are among the Rawlinson MSS. (see Macray).

[6] ' Neither could the Queen of England, said I, speak Dutch, yet she made much accompt of the King and country of Denmark, and durst not offend him nor none of his ships, both by reason of the strait passage at Elsinore, and also because he had great ships to make himself amends in case she did him or his any

the King his master that the King of Denmark at that time was so strong at sea as that the Queen of England's ships durst not offend his.

My Lord of Dartmouth[1] tells me that great guns could not be in very great use under King Henry 8th, for that there remains yet in the storehouse of the Tower one of the two wooden guns which frighted those of Bullen to surrender that town to him.[2]

Take from Sir A. Deane an account of the ridiculous proposition we gave such way to of the Dutchman Sir Lawrence Van Hemskirke,[3] of building a ship with regard to the grain of the timber, and laying the roots all one way, or some such like fantastic notion, less intelligible than that of the double bottom so much disclaimed by the King, etc. And collect particularly the proof of that experiment of Hemskirke in the Nonsuch, built by Sir A[nthony] D[eane] upon his proposition, and written covenants of encouragement from the King to him for it.

Sir William Petty, Sir Robert Southwell,[4] Mr. Shere,[5] and others, discoursing with me of the credit which the name of an Englishman does everywhere carry with it as to skill in gunnery,

wrong.' The *Memoirs* of Sir James Melville (1535–1617) were first discovered in manuscript in 1660, and were published by his grandson in 1683.

[1] See note on p. 187 above. On January 28, 1682, he had been appointed Master-General of the Ordnance.

[2] Boulogne was captured on September 14, 1544, by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; but this success was the result of mining and a serious bombardment.

[3] Sir Laurence Van Heemskirke was a Dutch captain who commanded the Nonsuch in 1668. On his 'proposition . . . to discover an art how to make a ship go two foot for one what any ship do now,' see *Diary*, April 22, May 13 and 20, 1668.

[4] See note on p. 156 above. [5] See note on p. 153 above.

and particularly Sir Robert Southwell gave us an instance relating to the Duke de Medina Sidonia,[1] nobody would undertake to make any guess at the true ground of it, unless it was that we fell first into the greatest use of great ordnance at sea; as also that we at this day seem the boldest and aptest in the use of them. But from whence soever it has arose, it is generally that an Englishman of whatever trade he is that is taken at sea by the Turks is by them at this day taken and employed of course for a gunner. Of which Mr. Shere spoke the most particularly.

It seems remarkable that notwithstanding our pretended mastership in all sea-matters, it seems not to be yet fully determined which end of a ship it is that comes about upon a ship's staying, the King and Mr. Shere being wholly for the stern and Sir A[nthony] D[eane] for the head or both.

Nor are we agreed what figure of a ship's body moves best through the water; Mr. Shere contending (with the generality) for a body sharp at both ends, while Sir William Petty and Sir A[nthony] D[eane] think as well of its being sharp before and blunt abaft, proving the same very far by a sudden experiment unaccurately made in a pond at Sir William Petty's house, whose particular notion and assertion [it is] that the run or shape of a ship abaft is not designed to give swiftness but only to bring the water the quicker to the helm.

It seems worthy reflecting upon that we should through our supineness make no better security for our Navy Royal in the Medway than we did;

[1] This may perhaps be a reference to the commander of the Spanish Armada.

when by the little we did do at the beginning of that war with the Dutch it sufficiently appears that we were not surprised therein but were aware of the danger, and yet not so much as by his writing it appears my Lord Mounson was four score years ago.[1]

It appears (as my Lord Dartmouth [2] observed to me upon the place) that Queen Elizabeth's old blockhouse at Tilbury has led us to the misplacing our new expenses in fortification there, forasmuch as he shewed me how much better it had been if we had placed the same at the point above it, where ships in coming up must have been upon the tack, and so our guns have more play upon them, whereas now the tide carry them away directly by us without half the opposition to be given them by our guns.

Sir William Petty seems to have some conceptions, not yet exposed, by which he strongly imagines a great saving might be made in the number, sizes, and dimensions of our masts and sails by virtue of his double bottom [3] beyond what can be attained to upon the single.

Noah's Ark must needs be made of some extraordinary timber and plank that could remain good after having been an hundred years in building, whereas our thirty new ships are some of them rotten within less than five.[4] Moreover Mr. Shere computes from its dimensions that six months would have sufficed to have built what Moses assigns an hundred years for. And enquire

[1] See 'A Project of safety of the King's navy at Chatham . . .,' in Book V of Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts* (ed. M. Oppenheim, v. 13–15).

[2] See note on p. 203 above.

[3] See note on p. 106 above.

[4] See note on p. 207 below.

also how carpenters and caulkers came to be found, if she was the first ship; what account could be given of all that ado for the preserving of one little family that would of course have the curiosity of coming to see this great work; and lastly how they all agreed (contrary to all humane practice in like cases of distresses, and particularly that of the Gloucester [1] and the burning of London within my own observation) to see this means of safety enjoyed by so few persons, and oxen and asses, suffering the universality of mankind to perish without contention for a share in it. Mr. Shere also notes that every country yet known has something particular in the shape of their ships and vessels, and those even the most barbarous; whereas it seems reasonable that they should have some sort of uniformity did they all derive the same from the same example of the Ark. But so far are they from the Ark that no one nation builds like it, but every one totally different from it, and better than it; and with this, further observes that there is none of these differences of builts [2] that can be said to be wholly accidental, but upon examination will be found strictly adapted to some peculiar circumstances requiring the same, rather than any other, with respect to some particularity relating either to the winds, depths, currents, heats or colds, trades and uses, kinds, strength, lastingness, or other quality of the materials, their floods, tides, length and nature of voyages, or some other, with this only distinction, that as by time and practice some nations do become more knowing in naval architecture their form of built [2] provides for the answering

[1] See note on p. 131 above.
[2] See note on p. 18 above.

more of these accidents, and as they are less knowing the less perfect is their building in reference thereto; and consequently where they remain most ignorant and barbarous at this day their vessels appear most simple, and yet therein the most excellent, forasmuch as they (namely those of Greenland and India) are found using the most perfect figure of a body that is allowed in the world to be the most apt to pass through the water, namely, long and narrow, and so are the canoes[1]; Sir William Petty yielding to me that every degree of our departure from that shape is a lessening of our advantage therein as to sailing for the sake of some other necessary circumstances of convenience to be provided for, inconsistent with that figure; circumstances, I mean, relating to some or other more or less of those before enumerated, and which seem of all others to be least answered in the form described by Moses of the Ark, even beneath that of the Indian canoes[1] saving for its content.

Neither Sir A. Deane nor any other of the King's shipwrights at the beginning of our 30 new ships shewed any apprehension they had of the bad effects we find of our East Country plank[2] when they contracted for it; or that those ships could not be built within the time

[1] MS. 'canoos.'

[2] The 'deplorable state' of the thirty new ships in 1684 was ascribed to the use of East Country timber, but this was afterwards exonerated, and its use in future building was sanctioned by Order in Council (October 8, 1686). In a letter of March 5, 1685, Pepys assigns the state of the ships to want of care and not to the material of which they were built (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 63–64). An account of 'A solemn conference with the master builders of England touching the use of East Country plank in the Royal Navy,' April 17, 1686, is in Pepys's *Naval Precedents*, p. 215.

set by the Parliament.[1] But it was my part to advise (as I did) for the obliging the N[avy] O[fficers] to build them for the kingdom sake as soon as they could, for preventing the effects of their known slothfulness where they are left at liberty; as it appears also by the long time they have, notwithstanding that expectation of the Parliament, been upon some of them, and thereby also bereft themselves of that excuse of haste for the bad proof of the said plank. But it appears plainly from hence that either they are much to blame in the making use of foreign goods at all, or that they were negligent in the choice of them, or that England is in a very ill condition of answering its occasions at sea by goods of its own growth.

But how come they to neglect (as is said) the pitching the said ships with stuff as they ought to have done for the preserving of the plank; the Ark itself being said to be pitcht within and without?

Dr. Gale[2] tells me from Sir Joseph Williamson[3] that the truth of that tradition so often repeated in Parliament of Queen Elizabeth's forbidding France to build any more ships is no more than that upon a treaty of peace between them two and Scotland[4] (after our war with the last) it was reciprocally agreed (among other things) that neither side should increase their naval force; upon which we did forbear the building any more ships, and Sir Francis Walsingham did require

[1] Under 29 Car. II, c. i., § 36, the ships were to be completed within two years from June 24, 1677.

[2] See note on p. 177 above. [3] See note on p. 78 above.

[4] Probably the Treaty of Blois, April 19, 1572. The table of Elizabeth's ships printed by Mr. Oppenheim (*The Administration of the Royal Navy*, p. 120) shews that no ships were built for the Crown after 1573 until 1577.

the like performance of covenant from the King of France.

Melvil[1] at the end of his book tells us how the Admiral of Scotland with his ships that carried King James to Denmark was seized by a storm at sea by the means of witches.

Examine well the story of the late pretended invasion by the French upon the Isle of Purbeck with 40,000 men at the beginning of the Plot, and the folly of this nation who should not understand the sea better in so easily swallowing so ridiculous a story; and yet people of the country came up to the Council and made oath of it, and my Lord of Bristol[2] was met upon the road coming up post with his sword drawn in his hand to give the King an account of it.

Compare the names of the streets and lanes in London, observing what thereof are derived from shipping and trade.

Observe the history of London Bridge, and how far ships and vessels have been said to come and lie about it, and particularly to the Fleet-water, Wool-staple, and Queen-hith.

May, 1683. I find the Brethren of Trinity House speaking as if they did examine the sands in the River afresh every year or two, and particular mention was at that time had of a complaint lately made to Sir Richard Haddock[3] by Captain Fowler in the Woolwich[4] (whom Sir John Narbrough, by the way, says not to be able

[1] See note on pp. 202–3 above.

[2] Probably John Digby, third Earl of Bristol. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Dorset and Vice-Admiral of Poole.

[3] See note on p. 182 above.

[4] A 4th-rate built at Woolwich by Phineas Pett in 1675. Captain Thomas Fowler's commission to command her was dated April 14, 1683.

to judge anything of the matter) that he found not above 17 foot water at dead low water below the Buoy of the Nore, so as either the Buoy is concluded to be carried up higher or the spit of the sands shot down lower.

Enquire into the true history of the invention, structure, advantage, and acceptation of Whale's new pump, discoursed of at the Trinity House, May 1683.

May 23, 1683. Captain Nichols tells the D[uke] of Grafton [1] and me of a Dutchman lately come into the River from the East Country, drawing above 12 foot water, without ever knowing where he was till he come to anchor in the Hope.[2]

May 18, 1683. *Memorandum*, that there was this day a meeting of Sir John Lowther,[3] Sir Robert Southwell,[4] Sir A. Deane, Mr. James Houblon,[5] Mr. Shere,[6] and myself with Sir William Petty at his house to discourse upon some fresh propositions of his relating to the double bottom.[7] The effects of which are to be found in the results thereof put by him into writing and reviewed at a special meeting to that purpose by him, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir A. D., and myself at Gresham College [8] the 23rd ditto; wherein Sir

[1] Henry Fitzroy, first Duke of Grafton. On Prince Rupert's death in 1682 he had been appointed Vice-Admiral of England.

[2] A reach of the Thames below Gravesend.

[3] There were two baronets of this name living in 1683: Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, and his cousin who afterwards became the first Viscount Lonsdale. The reference in the text is probably to the former, who was an Admiralty Commissioner from 1689 to 1696.

[4] See note on p. 156 above.

[5] See note on p. 196 above.

[6] See note on p. 153 above.

[7] See note on p. 106 above.

[8] Sir Thomas Gresham's College, founded in 1575, was the first home of the Royal Society.

William Petty seemed more largely and thankfully to acknowledge the benefit he received in several particulars from Sir A. Deane's discourse, beyond all that he ever met with from the great builders of England with whom he has had conversation for forty years past, and owning his remaining to this day under an erroneous computation (discovered now by Sir A. Deane in this his paper) of the weight of a ship's hull in her first built[1] (without ballast, masts, furniture, or lading) in proportion to the whole when rigged and laden; shewing himself to have been led thereto by his acquiescing in and taking for good the method universally received by the Shipwrights' Hall, etc., of measuring the burthens of ships by their divisor 94. Which Sir A. D. observed not to be (nor any other) universally true, and leads me to reflect not only upon the gross conception and unsettled proceedings of our seamen to this day in so considerable a point, but upon the written account I have somewhere seen and will endeavour to collect of the whole controversy between the Trinity House and Professors of Mathematics heretofore (about the business, as I take it, of the Isle of Rée) concerning the true method of measuring ships and the report which was drawn up by myself and presented from the N[avy] O[ffice] at the beginning of our first Dutch war,[2] and was the foundation of the establishment then made in Council,[3] and which is the standing rule at this day in that affair.

[1] See note on p. 18 above.

[2] This report does not appear to be referred to in the *Diary*, but an entry of March 9, 1666, shews that Pepys knew how to measure a ship.

[3] Order of January 2, 1665.

SIR PETER PETT[1]

He observes that Peckius[2] styles a mariner *improbum genus hominum.*

Will shew me an account of the receipts and issues of France for the year 1673.

Will give me the reading, though not the transcribing, of Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetic.*[3]

Will shew me a certificate under Mr. Portman's[4] own hand of the vile use Brooke House[5] papers have been put to.

Will communicate to me the whole proceedings upon my Lord Clarendon's[6] late grant of the shore of the River about Wapping.

Informs me on the antiquity of his family's being related as master-builders in the Navy.[7]

Says that Queen Elizabeth will be found in Mr. Camden in her negotiations with Spain about

[1] Sir Peter Pett, lawyer and author, one of the original Fellows of the Royal Society, was a friend and occasional correspondent of Pepys (see *Private Correspondence*, ed. J. R. Tanner).

[2] Peter Peckius (*d.* 1589), *Ad rem nauticam pertinentes Commentarii* (1647). A copy is in the Pepysian Library [No. 871].

[3] Some of Sir William Petty's *Essays in Political Arithmetic* were circulated in manuscript before they were published; the earliest publication was not until 1683. In Petty's own list of his works *Political Arithmetic* is dated 1671 (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of Sir William Petty*, p. 318).

[4] A Mr. Portman was cashier to the Victuallers of the Navy in 1673.

[5] See note on p. 51 above.

[6] Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon, the eldest son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

[7] Sir Peter Pett was the son of Peter Pett, master-shipwright at Deptford, grandson of Peter Pett, shipbuilder, of Wapping, and great-grandson of Peter Pett, master-shipwright at Deptford under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth.

the West Indies to have renounced the doctrine of Sea Dominion.

Examine his assertion of there being but 16 docks in all England.

Ditto of the words engraven upon farthings, *Quatuor Maria vendico.*[1]

What could be the reason (if it be true what some of our Brethren of the Trinity House say) that our forefathers, for the express reason of keeping our soundings unknown, have forbidden strangers to go out of the River without a pilot, and yet leave them at liberty to come in without any.

Some of the Brethren did observe to me that the Bishop of Winchester has cut down some trees of his at Stoke Church near Gospurr,[2] which (with Gilkicker) were an old and famous sea-mark for the harbour of Portsmouth, so that there is now no turning-channel left there, Gilkicker being become useless.

They say the like was lately done upon one or more trees at Harwich, and that in justification thereof it has been said that they were cut down to make some carved work for the use of his Majesty.

[1] For *vindico*. On this coin of Charles II, which came to be known as the 'Lucas farthing,' see Fulton, p. 470.

[2] *I.e.* Gosport. Alverstoke is S. of Gosport, and Gilkicker Fort is on the coast S.W. of Haslar, occupying the position on the W. of the approach by sea to Portsmouth that Southsea Castle does on the E.

Memorandum. That as Betts[1] (the gunner of the Charles, lately deceased) was an able master before he was made a gunner, so is Hoskins, our late master of the Grafton, now. And for want of other standing provision for the keeping of good masters in the King's Navy, they are fain to get themselves provided for by getting to be gunners. In which consideration I procured the gunnership of the Charles for Hoskins. *Q.* more of the same kind.

Note the imperfection of our present sea-laws from the case of [2] Cooke, boatswain to Captain Ashby in the Mary-Rose, who is liable to be hanged for correcting a mutinous seaman denying to obey his orders about his ship's business on shore. Peruse his case.

Mr. Houblon gives me a good account of his own knowledge and his brother John's[3] touching the mean estate of the French navy in the years 1658 and 1659, just before the King's coming in; so that the growth of that Crown at sea can take its date no further backwards, however we came to have minded it so little.

[4] Criminals convict at the Old Bailey Sessions, December 1692, have their punishments commuted for their being sent to serve the King at sea: *vide* the printed paper of that Sessions which

[1] In November 1676 the Navy Board had recommended Mr. Betts to be gunner of the Royal Charles on the death of Alexander Ramsey, but the appointment went at that time to Captain Richard Country, who had served as a commander at sea (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iii. 311–12).

[2] Blank in the MS.

[3] John Houblon was the younger brother of James Houblon the merchant, Pepys's friend. Both brothers were knighted, and John was the first Governor of the Bank of England.

[4] The entries that follow, relating to 1692, are inserted out of chronological order, by a different hand to that hitherto employed.

I keep by me, besides the *Gazette* of the 26th ditto.

Speak with Mr. Sandford,[1] Mr. King,[2] or any other Herald, for the number of coat-armours charged with any maritime bearing, compared with those of any other profession, or of all together, in England.

My aim is for the good of futurity, though little deserving it of me.

My original applications in study much above the work of the Navy, wherein they have been employed, and the first of their degree that appear to have been ever so, and to have gone through all the steps thereof which I have done.

Never any set history of our Navy, navy-men, or theory.

No suitable care ever had of our woods as a sea-nation.

There seems to have been a spirit extraordinary stirring among our nobility and gentry in Queen Elizabeth's time towards the sea, beyond what appears to have been ever before or since; imputable, I think, to their then fervour for religion and against Spain, joined with the general better morals of that age than usual.

Examine the laws of England about bastardy in reference to our 4 Seas,[3] and in particular

[1] Francis Sandford, Lancaster Herald, 1676–89.

[2] Gregory King, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant 1677, and Lancaster Herald 1689.

[3] The term 'Four Seas' is to be found in official documents as early as the 13th century (T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, p. 17). In 1635 Selden described the British Sea (*Oceanus Britannicus*) as divided into four parts according to the four quarters of the world—the Vergivian Sea on the west; the German Sea on the east; the Mare Britannicum on the south; and the Northern, Caledonian, or Deucaledonian Sea on the north (*Mare Clausum*, translation of 1652, Bk. I. c. 1, p. 182).

whether the child born while the father is upon as well as within them (they being reputed parcel of the King's Dominion) be esteemed legitimate.

See that I am possessed of copies of the 3 several Commissions of the Admiralty since my time, viz. 1673, 1679, and 1689;[1] comparing the difference as well in their issues as their styles and powers.

Note the unaccountableness of the thanks given since the sitting of this Parliament, 1692, to Admiral Torrington[2] and Admiral Russell,[3] under the dissatisfactions at the same time expressed with the conduct of them both; the former receiving their thanks himself with some kind of reflection thereon, when in answer thereto he thanked them for their thanking him for his being beaten, hoping that upon the next occasion he should give them more cause to thank him, though he was not so fortunate as to do it, but was designed for it, and in all appearance with as little reason as he was thanked for the former. The latter was accompanied with their questioning of Sir John Ashby[4] (though he made shift to acquit himself) for the non-prosecution of the

[1] The Admiralty Commission of 1673–79, of which Pepys was Secretary, the new Commission of 1679, in which Sir Henry Capel replaced Rupert and Hayter succeeded Pepys, and the Commission of 1689 under Herbert, appointed after the Revolution.

[2] Admiral Arthur Herbert, created Earl of Torrington 1689. The vote of thanks to him was passed on May 21, 1689 (*Commons' Journals*, x. 138, 142).

[3] Admiral Edward Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford. The vote of thanks to him was passed on November 11, 1692 (*ib.* x. 698).

[4] On the report of a Committee appointed to consider the petition of the London merchants relating to their losses at sea coming before the House of Commons, Sir John Ashby, who had commanded the rear of the fleet at La Hogue, was called to the bar and questioned; but his explanation was deemed satisfactory (*Commons' Journals*, November 19, 1692, x. 708).

victory, their voting[1] advice to the King for outing of the Admiralty to make room for men of experience in maritime affairs, and a disagreement raised between the 2 Houses concerning Admiral Russell himself by the Lord Nottingham's public arraignment of him and his conduct in the House of Lords.[2]

Note also that in this vote of advice by the Commons, provision was also made against the practice said to be of late taken up by the Lord Nottingham as Secretary of State to send orders to the Admiral at sea immediately from the Queen[3] or Cabinet, unknown to the Admiralty Commissioners, and possibly interfering with others of theirs. A practice founded, I presume, upon the Minister's consciousness of the ignorance and inexperience of the said Commissioners.

It seems worthy of note how small things are sometimes found to mar or mend a ship's quality of sailing, and what is inferable[4] from thence touching the little room that seems left for any improvement of naval architecture when it is come to such a niceness in the proofs of it, as the tender turning of a balance is the highest evidence of the perfection of its work.

The Dutch could do what we could not in Chatham River in 1666, and the French in 1692,

[1] Marginal Note in MS.: '*Vide* the vote itself in the following page.'

[2] Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham, was at this time one of the Secretaries of State, with charge of the department of war. Russell and Nottingham threw the responsibility for La Hogue on each other. The former was acquitted of all blame by the House of Commons, and the latter was defended by the Lords.

[3] From March 4 to October 20, 1692, William III was absent on the Continent.

[4] MS. 'inferrible.'

with the help of all our Jersey and Guernsey pilots, in their going into St. Malo's.

Get a copy of Lea's return to the demand of the present N[avy] O[ffice], 1692, shewn me by Mr. Hewer, about the quantity and sizes of fir-timber needful for supplying the want of large oak for the Britannia at Chatham.

Reflect upon Mr. Hewer's calculation and reduction of the wear and tear [1] upon particular ships.

The Royal Charles, a less ship than the Britannia,[2] is brought from Portsmouth to Woolwich Dock for repair, 1692, and (as it is said) is likely to lie there undone merely for want of large timber to do it with. A further proof of what is above noted touching the Britannia. Get the particulars hereof also from Mr. Hewer.

A copy of the Vote in the House of Commons mentioned in the foregoing page : [3]

Resolved (in 1692)

> That it is the opinion of this Committee that in pursuance of his Majesty's Speech the House be moved that his Majesty be

[1] 'Wear and tear' is the technical term for the depreciation of a ship and her stores in the course of a voyage.

[2] The Royal Charles, built at Portsmouth by Sir Anthony Deane in 1673, and the Britannia, built at Chatham by Sir Phineas Pett in 1682, were both 1st-rates, but the latter was 1739 tons burden, and the former only 1531 after girdling.

[3] See p. 217 above. The resolution was passed in a Committee of the whole House, and reported to the House on January 11, 1692–3 (*Commons' Journals*, x. 775); but it was amended by the House so as to read, 'That his Majesty be humbly advised that for the future all orders for the management of the Fleet do pass through the hands of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England' (*ib.*). See also note on p. 292 below.

humbly advised to constitute a Commission of the Admiralty of such persons as are of known experience in maritime affairs. And that for the future all orders for the management of the Fleet do pass through the Admiralty that shall be so constituted.

Remember Sir John Lowther's [1] note heretofore to me, and somewhere entered, of there being but one member of the first Admiralty Commission 1679 at my being sent to the Tower that voted for the 30 ships [2]; as that which may go a great way towards shewing how it came to pass that the ships fared no better when they were built that lay in the care of those that were no better inclined towards their building, or were so little sensible of the nation's want of them. A reflection that will administer matter for many other useful thoughts touching the consequences of that deplorable ignorance which occurs universally in our sea administrations.

[3] Hackluit [4] tells us of our supineness and want of intelligence in '88; of our being imposed upon from the Spaniards by a treaty; of four of our biggest ships being ordered in but the very day before the Spanish Fleet appeared upon our coasts; that it was the King of France's advice that made us fall to work in earnest; that the Spanish galliasses were good; that the Spanish Admiral was not at liberty to do what was best, but tied up by instructions; that Parma sent for pilots and shipwrights out of Italy; that our

[1] See note on p. 210 above. [2] See note on p. 13 above.

[3] From this point the entries are resumed by the original copyist, and refer to the years 1683 to 1685, 'the King' being once more Charles II.

[4] Richard Hakluyt, 'The vanquishing of the Spanish Armada, Anno 1588,' in his *Voyages* (ii. 369–401, in the 'Everyman' Edition).

men were idling on shore when the Spanish Fleet appeared; that the Spaniards were only upon the defensive.

It does not appear that the Spaniards suffere any of the evils they met with from any ignorance either in our shallows or the coast of Flanders, though their ships very big.

Mountgomery [1] takes notice and recommends to England's practice the use of the Spanish galliasses.

The little History of the Three Plots in 12mo. complains of our Fleet's being unfurnished with powder in '88; or else the account of it in my miscellaneous *Sea Tracts*.[2]

Sir A. Deane tells me that Southampton was anciently supported principally by Italians residing and trading there.

Improve the King's present invention of applying two masts to a yacht.

The King tells me that the draughts given him by [3] of my Lord of Warwick's ships [4] are good for nothing; and yet upon my objecting it to him, does confess that our ships have ever been, or at least esteemed, better than any others. And further acknowledges, upon my asking it, that he believes there is little room at this day left for improving our built [5] in the

[1] The second part of Mountgomery's *Book of the Navy* gives a detailed account of galliasses, written in 1588. There is a copy of the whole work in the Pepysian Library (MS. No. 1774). The substance of it was printed by Sir Samuel Brydges in *Censura Literaria*.

[2] A number of tracts, bound up in four volumes and catalogued under this title, are in the Pepysian Library [Nos. 1077–80].

[3] Blank in the MS.

[4] See note on p. 223 below.

[5] See note on p. 18 above.

bodies of ships, though in some small matters of convenience there may.

Trinity House tells me that they have made their application to the King that the coasts of England may be generally surveyed anew, they appearing universally to be laid down false, and particularly Scilly 10 minutes more north than it ought to be; by which our ships have been always to this day exposed to ruin, and infinitely more have miscarried than were ever heard of to have done so. And that this has arisen upon our having still depended and governed ourselves by the Dutch draughts; and so the King tells them and they confess.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, in their petition against the Trinity House touching the duty upon the S[c]illy light, do call that place the chief port of England, and that the only profit left them is from strangers coming in thither to revictual.

And Trinity House notes that foreigners do chiefly come in thither.

Q[*uaere*] by what right the Governor of that place, Scilly, challenges the duty of anchorage there, and the ground and inhumanity of merchants' ships forfeiting their best bower cable there and in the Downs if they do but touch on ground,[1] though they come off very clear.

Old Captain Nichols, or young (but I think the latter), told us how the pilots of Venice will not come on board our merchants' ships, though it be the worst place in the world to go in at, but will go before them in their boats, sounding

[1] *Cf.* p. 437 below.

with their poles, and though they can carry through deeper water yet they will give you no more than just a ship draws; and this only to keep their pilotage secret.

And that everywhere pilots are paid for, though you use none, and strangers are made to do the like here.

They say, and particularly Sir John Narbrough,[1] that now lights are up they must be continued so, or our own navigation must cease, and that they are evidently set up for the benefit of strangers as well as ourselves. Or else why do they pay to them, and generally more than we?

Sir A. Deane speaks of a model of the Royal Charles[2] shewn at a public-house, viz. the Three Pigeons at Ratcliffe.

Sir William Dugdale[3] tells me that to this day (as he has heard) the lands in some parts of Lincolnshire are bouted[4] and bounded to the northward by Denmark.

Read *Le Parfait Negociant,* printed in 1675, and particularly the chapter about the French's being the first discoverers of the Indies.[5]

How late is our first Admiral in the lists; and is he not since our pretence to the Dominion of the Sea?

[1] On this distinguished seaman, see *D.N.B.*, xl. 89.
[2] See note on p. 218 above.
[3] Sir William Dugdale, Garter King-of-Arms, lived until 1686.
[4] See note on p. 368 below.
[5] James Savary (1622–90), *Le Parfait Négociant, ou Instruction Générale pour ce qui regarde le Commerce des Marchandises de France et des Pays Étrangers*: Paris, 1675.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] tells me that besides Mr. Day that went to Denmark in the late times, one Robin was sent thither by the late King [1]; by the same token he would have carried Sir John Tippets [2] (who was then a young man) along with him.

The King tells me from Sir George Carterett's [3] relation that a Frenchman first invented that manner of built,[4] proposed it to the late King, and meeting with no entertainment went over to Dunkirk and there was entertained, and from thence we were glad to learn our building of frigates, the first whereof was the Warwick (whose original draught the King has now by him) and then the Constant Warwick.[5]

Q[*uaere*] the meaning of the Admiral of Castile.

Very good matter to be found in the King's grant to Seller's new undertaking, 1679.[6]

Lepanto.[7]

Of the four great discoverers, we the last and least.

[1] Charles I. [2] See note on p. 193 above.
[3] Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy 1660–66.
[4] See note on p. 18 above.
[5] The Constant Warwick was built in 1646 by Robert Rich Earl of Warwick, afterwards Lord Admiral for the Parliament, for use as a privateer. She was one of the earliest English frigates. The Old Warwick appears in the navy lists as a prize of the same year (Oppenheim, p. 255).
[6] It is not clear to which of the numerous undertakings of John Seller the hydrographer this note refers; but there is a reference in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic* (1679–80, p. 242) to a petition of September 15, 1679, from John Seller and others to be allowed to import paper custom-free for printing *An Actual Survey of England and Wales*.
[7] See note on p. 370 below.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s having memorials given him to enquire after in Holland and France, and his giving Sir Joseph Williamson [1] an account of them.

Sir Thomas Allin's [2] story about his having the first frigates in England.

Commit Duke Dudley's Book [3] to Mr. Shere.[4]

Mr. Evelyn and Sir Thomas Clutterbourg,[5] the history of Duke Dudley.

Collect from Mr. Seller [6] a list of sea-charts and books of navigation printed in English, shewing how the books of charts under several titles borrow all from Waggener.[7]

The King's story about the St. Malo's-man offering the old King to build a frigate by Sir George Carterett's hand.[8] But being discouraged by the then Officers of the Navy, he went over to Dunkirk and was entertained there. His proposal to the King was to build a ship of 30 guns to out-sail any ship the King had.

Read the Titles and Epistles of all naval printed books.

Observe in the late printed book concerning

[1] See note on p. 78 above.

[2] Sir Thomas Allin, Comptroller of the Navy 1671–80.

[3] Probably the work on navigation, naval architecture, &c., published at Florence in 1646 and 1647 by Sir Robert Dudley, under the title, *Dell' Arcano del Mare*. In 1620 he had been created Duke of Northumberland in the Holy Roman Empire.

[4] See note on p. 153 above.

[5] Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, victualling contractor for the Mediterranean 1674.

[6] John Seller, hydrographer to Charles II.

[7] See note on p. 12 above.

[8] See p. 223 above.

Invasion [1] what is said concerning the weakness of Portsmouth.

Discourse with D[uke of] Y[ork] about rectifying of headlands.

Colonel Legg [2] gives me an account of the new-invented guns not being more useful than the old. Observe the 3 partners in the profits thereof to be the Earl of Shaftsbury the then Lord Chancellor, the Prince,[3] and the then Master of Ordnance; that the King pays 60*l.* a ton, and has paid 5200*l.*, whereas the founder has offered them to Legg at 30*l.* odd money. *Q.* more particulars about this matter, and the Prince's lately desiring the King to give them leave to carry the invention beyond sea, and the King's answer thereto.

The Turks came lately as high as Bechy.[4]

We were at the highest above our neighbours in sea-matters and in building of ships, and our best builders were advised with, when that by-law was made. *Q.* whether Hatton was not Lord Chancellor,[5] and who confirms it.

Memorandum. That I have forgotten what this by-law means; but suppose it some by-law of the Trinity House or the Shipwrights' Company.[6]

[1] Possibly *England's Defence; a Treatise concerning Invasion*, by Thomas Digges (*d.* 1595). It was first printed as a separate work in 1680.

[2] See note on p. 187 above.

[3] This must be a reference to Prince Rupert's interest in gunnery. Shaftesbury was Lord Chancellor from 1672 to 1673, and the 'then Master of Ordnance' was Sir Thomas Chicheley.

[4] Beachy Head.

[5] Sir Christopher Hatton was Lord Chancellor 1587–91.

[6] See p. 372 below.

Enquire of the clerks of the check whether we have not had strangers of all nations working in our yards; nay, and have frequently pressed strangers to serve at sea, till released by their Ambassadors.

Q[*uaere*] what may be argued from Henry 8th's old List of the Ships of England.

How little mathematic is required or to be found among our best shipwrights.

How ships of the worst appearance are often found to prove good sailers, without any reason to be assigned for it.

What accidents shall make a ship sail well or ill, without any fore-knowledge or visible reason for it?

Did no strangers serve among our ships in '88; and did not Queen Elizabeth ever admit the conjunction of the force of Henry the 4th or any other foreign assistance at sea, either then or at any other time, nor did any of her predecessors?

Was there not ignorance more than knowledge, courage, or force in our first assuming to ourselves the Dominion of the Sea? And see what time it was, comparing the circumstances of that time.

How many ages were both the coasts of England and France in one hand, and did we carry away all their knowledge from them when France drove us from thence?

And consider the charge drawn upon us by our Acts of Parliaments asserting this Dominion.

See Sir Philip Meadows's Discourse[1] mentioning our taking leave from strangers to fish, and what is to be inferred from it.

Remember that in my report to the Parliament in 1675[2] I gave them a particular account by name of the French and Dutch naval force compared with ours, shewing how they severally outvied us. Wherein I enough did my part as a friend to England, however they did theirs.

Enquire and consider what we have of any art or trade either of English invention or growth that deserves to be, or either is, forbidden to be published to strangers.

The like of what real advantages of any kind we have over France, either as to power or knowledge in sea affairs.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] drew up the scantlings of the new ships,[3] which are the best ships in the world.

Improve the words of Chaucer's seaman.[4]

Remember my letters to Brisband[5] about Bordereaux, etc., and another to Sir Joseph Williamson[6] about *quaeries* for Brest.

Faults found in King James[']s, and even in Queen Elizabeth's time; and yet the old Officers restored.

[1] See note on p. 3 above.

[2] Pepys's Report on the state of the Navy was presented to the House of Commons on April 24, 1675. His comparison of the English, French, and Dutch fleets is printed in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 46.

[3] See note on p. 13 above.

[4] See note 3 on p. 374 below.

[5] See note on p. 257 below.

[6] See note on p. 78 above.

Remember the complaints of our sea-matters in the Process of the Libel [1]; [2] to the diminution rather than advantage of the Sea Dominion we pretend to.

Art is not an advantage particular to us, it being common to all other nations equal to us, but labour and experience; this making men diligent and painful, whilst art makes them rather idle, proud, and opinionate; and experience it is we must boast of at sea, or nothing.

More artists miscarry at sea (through their idleness and presumption) than men of experience less knowing.

The Old English Sea-Rutter [3] but a translation out of French.

Mr. Gibson [4] tells me of this nation's being heretofore used to be much troubled with pirates.

Fournier [5] upon the word *Pirate* tells us of a certain English king who employed pirates against his enemies.

Ditto his notes touching *Le Droit de Brief.*[6]

[1] The *Libel of English Policy* was written about 1436. A late 15th century MS. copy is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1461].

[2] This last sentence is in Pepys's own hand.

[3] The Pepysian Library contains 'The Old Rutter of the Sea, of the first impression, and the first Book of Navigation printed in English, about 1490' [No. 96]; and there is also a copy of 'the same enlarged, under the title of *Le Grand Routier*' [No. 1495]. The reference in the text may be, however, to *The Rutter of the Sea*, 1528, translated from the *Grant Routier*, 1521, of Pierre Garcie, by Robert Copland the printer.

[4] See note on p. 23 above. [5] See note on p. 50 above.

[6] 'L'Amirauté de Bretagne levast un droit qui se nommoit *Droit de Brieuf*, pour sauver la confiscation des vaisseaux qui avoient de coustume de se briser aux costes de Bretagne' (Georges Fournier, *Hydrographie*, 2nd edition, 1667, p. 303).

What wants of knowledge did our commanders observe among the French when in conjunction with our Fleet in 1672 ? and how could they forget all by 1675 ?

Has Sir Thomas Gresham [1] or any other at any time established a Navigation Lecture in England ?

See how few sea-ports in England had two Burgesses to serve them in Parliament qualified like Sir A[nthony] D[eane] and me.[2]

Have not all the King's engineers for these twenty years been strangers, and who ?

We have frequently heretofore in my Collection of old Sea-Tracts,[3] Sea-Rutter,[4] and Ashley's Waggoner [5] owned our ignorance in sea affairs ; as also appears our never having had any Lectures for Navigation ; our first and only Grand Pilot of England, Sebastian Gobot,[6] being a stranger ; our first discoveries in the West Indies to have been made by his father by a patent from Henry the 7th ; his pension and place of Pilot soon vanished and he returned to Spain, and all just before '88. We beholden for our maps, as Burrows [7] says, to the Spaniards and Portugueses, and Sir Francis Drake's offer of 20*l.* per annum

[1] See note on p. 41 above.

[2] Pepys and Deane were returned as members for Harwich to the Parliament of 1679.

[3] See note on p. 220 above.

[4] See note on p. 228 above.

[5] See note on p. 19 above.

[6] The story that Sebastian Cabot was appointed Grand Pilot of England by Edward VI occurs in Hakluyt, but it is rejected by the *D.N.B.* (viii. 169). Cabot was, however, Pilot-Major to the Emperor Charles V, and Strype describes him as 'Grand Pilot of the Emperor's Indies.'

[7] Probably William Borough (1536–99), the navigator and author. In his *Discourse of the Variation of the Compass* (1581) he points out the defects of the charts of his time.

towards a Navigation Lecture [1] made ineffectual for want of 20*l.* more ; and this notwithstanding especial application made by R. H.[2] to Sir Philip Sidney in an Epistle on that behalf.

Gather instances of the little respect paid in England to the services of its sea-officers ; nothing done in honour of their memories, very little provision made for their families, and that little very ill paid.

Ditto Trinquelo's spies,[3] to discover the weakness of the Island.

Genebelli [4] built the blockhouses at Gravesend in '88, and first used fire-boats at Antwerp. *Vide* Hackluit's *Voyages.*

Queen Elizabeth's treatment of the Papists in '88.

Compare the English and French modern Sea-Rutters [5] with the old ones.

Sir Joseph Williamson [6] denies Queen Elizabeth's ever forbidding the King of France to build ships, and rectifies the tradition about returning subsidies given by the Parliament.

[1] See p. 378 below.

[2] Richard Hakluyt. A letter to Sir Philip Sidney, in which a reference occurs to ' a lecture of the art of navigation necessary to be erected in London,' is in the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America* . . . 1582, a copy of which is in Pepys's *Sea-Tracts* (i. 717).

[3] See note on p. 378 below.

[4] ' There was at Tilbury in Essex, over against Gravesend, a mighty army encamped, and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederick Genebelli, an Italian engineer ' (Hakluyt, *Voyages,* ii. 378). On his use of fireships at Antwerp, see *ib.* ii. 391.

[5] See note on p. 228 above.

[6] See note on p. 78 above.

Imprudent orders and not want of seamanship ruined the Spaniards in '88, and that King said he designed not to fight against Heaven, but men.

Q[uaere] by whom and when the bow-line [1] was invented; whether not by the Spaniards. *Vide* Cortes's *Epistle to the Emperor*.[2]

Q[uaere] the proof of the new engine in the River for towing of ships.[3]

Copy the pictures of the ships in the Galleries at Whitehall.

Few English engineers.

History of the double-bottomed vessels.[4]

Englishmen backward in embracing foreign inventions or encouraging new of our own; instance in lead-sheathing.[5]

Q[uaere] the new invention of fire-hearths.[6]

The history of Henry the 8th's leather guns.

Sir Samuel Moreland's pumps.[7]

[1] See note on p. 173 above.

[2] The five letters addressed to the Emperor Charles V by Hernando Cortés on the subject of his conquests in Mexico are his only writings. An English translation by George Folsom was published in New York in 1843.

[3] In March 1679 experiments had been ordered to be conducted by the Navy Board into the value 'of an engine designed by one Mr. Beane for the warping of any of the ships down the River against the wind' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 642).

[4] See note on p. 288 below. [5] See note on p. 176 above.

[6] Colonel Ewbank's 'new-fashioned fire-hearths' were approved on December 16, 1676 (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 385), and they were ordered to be set up in the new galley-frigates (*ib.* iv. 389, 392, 396).

[7] Pepys's old tutor, Sir Samuel Morland, had experimented, among other things, in 'water-engines,' and one of his pumps had been installed at Chatham, 'for freeing the dock there of water' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iii. 329).

And his method of traversing of great guns.

We want a Secretary Marine, which the French have.

Consult all my books of voyages and navigation by overlooking their indexes.

Parliament-tapestry in honour of our heroes in '88.

One thousand five hundred and eighty-eight a surprise, and the blockhouses at Gravesend not built till that very year, and then by a stranger.[1]

Their public intelligence seems very imperfect at that time.

Spaniards supposed to know the River of Thames, or why were those houses built there ?

No settled Office for the Admiralty or Navy for recording of books and papers.

Seamen after '88 (*vide* the Journal) were fain to beg up and down the streets ; so as both Houses of Parliament relieved them by a collection, and the seamen driven to institute out of their own wages the Chest at Chatham,[2] which is now also falling.

The Algerines give their seamen, though slaves, two shares, while the soldiers have but one.

Our several attempts about the Fishery, all unsuccessful.

Never a man at this day fit to be Secretary of the Admiralty or Clerk of the Acts of the Navy,

[1] See p. 230 above.

[2] The Chatham Chest for disabled seamen was established by Hawkyns and others in 1590. It was maintained by monthly deductions from the seamen's wages (see M. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy*, 1509–1660, pp. 245–46).

and few capable of judging whether this be true or no ; so little the encouragement provided for that office.

Imperfection of our martial sea-laws.

The old encouragements to buildings in Wapping lately denied ; and if it had not been for me, the provision for maintaining of decayed seamen from Trinity House had been swallowed up by the watermen.

Nor could I in the last tax get the Trinity House or the Chest at Chatham excused, though others were.

Nor the lighthouses for the benefit of the poor in the Act about levying of money without Parliament.

Small sums allotted out of the Customs for the Navy by Queen Elizabeth. *Vide* Mr. Camden.

What is the ordinary charge of the King of France's navy ?

Examine the *Cabala of Letters*.[1]

What seamen to be found in the lists of our Admirals since it became a great office ? [2]

When began D[uke of] Y[ork] his seamanship ? [3]

[1] See note on p. 151 above.

[2] The first patent appointing to the office subsequently called ' Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine ' is dated July 18, 1360, but the title ' Admiral of England ' did not make its appearance until 1391. For the history of the office, see Mr. W. G. Perrin's article on ' The Lord High Admiral and the Admiralty Board,' in the *Mariner's Mirror* for April 1926. On the functions of William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, as *custos portuum* or *custos galliarum* as early as the reign of John, see a communication to the *English Historical Review* (xl. 570) by Mr. F. W. Brooks.

[3] See note on p. 382 below.

When and how came Henry 8 to begin his constitution of a Navy Royal ?

When and what were the first great ships built by the Crown ?

Present state of ship-timber in England as to plenty and price.

Mr. Evelyn in discourse tells me that want of timber has been always complained of in England.

History of great guns in England.

Note passages in Parliament-Journals and Sir Walter Raleigh about it.

Master Attendants ; and examine the Great Wardrobe for their liveries.[1]

Note also their having a place in the King's Public Procession, and none of the officers of the Navy else.

Q[*uaere*] whether we had any beacons upon our coasts before Queen Elizabeth's time ; and, whether there were or were not, they could never imply anything but an apprehension of being invaded.

The ships built by the Dutch for France were after their own Dutch built,[2] some of which were in the French fleet here but not good sailers ; the French (like us) not making the most of them, not minding their trim, as not being indeed satisfied with their accommodation.

[1] In 1675 a part of the pay of the masters-attendant of the dockyards was in respect of 'the liveries anciently allowed them out of the Great Wardrobe' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 131).

[2] See note on p. 18 above.

Our Royal Sovereign[1] is said first to have provoked Cardinal De Richelieu to build great ships in France and the like[2] other princes.

About 30 years ago Sir Thomas Gould[3] is said to have broken up a great French ship of three decks. Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s note.

He tells me also that the East India Company built ten second-rate ships, viz. the Guardland,[4] etc., upon the customs that should arise from their trade. *Q.* the names of all the ships.

Speak with Sir Richard Haddocke[5] about the French's getting and keeping the wind of our fleet.

[6] In the 3rd edition of Mr. Howell's Letters,[7] part 1, sect. 4, page 183 and 184, you may read there (in a letter to Dr. Field, Bishop of Llandaff,) how the English fleet that went against Spain, *anno* 1626, proved unfortunate for want of good conduct; which arose chiefly from the admiral's[8] being unacquainted with sea service and slighted by the seamen, etc.

[1] The Sovereign of the Seas was built at Woolwich by Phineas Pett in 1637. She was twice rebuilt, and appears in Pepys's *Register of Ships* as the Sovereign Royal.

[2] MS. 'the Luke.'

[3] Sir Thomas Gold, Sheriff of the City of London, knighted 1675.

[4] There was a 5th-rate of this name in the Royal Navy, but the reference must be to one of the Company's ships.

[5] See note on p. 182 above.

[6] This paragraph is inserted by another hand.

[7] The '*Epistolae Ho-elianae*: Familiar Letters, Domestic and Foreign . . .,' 1645–55. The letter referred to is § 4, No. 17, in the edition of 1645, written by James Howell when in the Fleet Prison. Theophilus Field, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, was Bishop of Llandaff from 1619 to 1627.

[8] Lord Willoughby.

DR. GALE'S[1] *NOTE TO ME ABOUT THE GRECIAN FLEET CARRIED OVERLAND, AND THE USE OF THE WORD MAREMIUM.*

January 25, 1684–5.

Sir,

In the *Annales* of Georgius Cedrenus[2] printed in Greek and Latin at Bāsle, fol. 478, this story is recorded: Necetas Oryphas per Corinthiacum Isthmum operarum [the Greek word here signifies many hands] usus multitudine, naves per continentem in alterius lateris mare transportavit, impositisque classiariis, hostes subitò adortus, etc. This was done in the time of Basilius Macedo, Emperor of the Greeks about the year of our Lord 877.

In Roger Hoveden, in the *Assisa Armorum, anno* 1181, the word *maireman* ought to be *maremium* or *maeremium* or *meremium.*[3] It is thus variously written in Ingulfus,[4] in Walsingham,[5] p. 104, in the *Monasticon,*[6] v. 1. p. 324, v. 2. p. 206, in Matt. Paris, *Vitis Abbat,*[7] p. 156, L. 3, also in *Fleta,*[8] L. 2, c. 41, sect. 9. *Fleta*

[1] See note on p. 177 above.

[2] George Cedrinus, a Greek monk of the 11th century, wrote a History of the World to 1057, which was translated into Latin by Xylander and published at Basle in 1566.

[3] The Rolls edition of Hoveden (ii. 262) reads *maireniam.*

[4] Ingulf (*d.* 1109), Abbot of Crowland. His *Crowland History,* though accepted as genuine in Pepys's time, has been shewn to be a forgery of the early 15th century (*D.N.B.*, xxix. 16–17).

[5] Thomas Walsingham (*d.* 1422 ?), a monk of St. Albans, who compiled *Chronicon Angliae* (1328–88) and a part of *Historia Anglicana* (1272–1422).

[6] The *Monasticon* of Sir William Dugdale (1605–86).

[7] Matthew Paris (*d.* 1259), *Vitae Abbatum S. Albani,* to 1255.

[8] *Fleta* is a Latin text-book of English law, probably written by a prisoner in the Fleet in the reign of Edward I (*c.* 1290).

there quotes the Forest Laws of Henry 3. But they refer to higher times, viz. to the times of Henry 2. So I think the Lord Cooke [1] says upon Magna Charta. At least they refer to the times of Richard 1. Fleta there calls them *Statuta Antiqua*; and I am inclinable to think that the prohibition of exportation of *maremium*, timber, was always an article of the Forest Laws, and given in charge to the Justices of the Forest. But *quaere de hoc.*

Send for Gascoigne [2] and compare the old and new charts.

Memorandum, the Mayor of Huntingdon's sturgeon.

Lewis tells me that upon the Commissioners of the Admiralty's being, upon a particular occasion, prompted to observe some rules made in Mr. Pepys's time, they answered that they would not be obliged by Pepys's rules.[3]

Note, as no ordinary instance of the little attention given by us (even people of the best quality) to knowledge of Geography, that Sir William Temple himself, and even when he was Ambassador from our King in Holland,[4] could receive as a present from Scott,[5] and give it the

[1] Coke, Proem to the *Second Institute*.

[2] See note on p. 19 above.

[3] *Cf.* p. 365 below.

[4] Sir William Temple was English Ambassador at the Hague from 1668 to 1670, and again from 1674 to 1679. Until 1681 he had a house at Sheen.

[5] Colonel John Scott the adventurer, who gave perjured evidence against Pepys in 1679. A copy of the warrant from Charles II appointing him Geographer Royal, dated August 29, 1668, is among the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian (A. 175, f. 158).

hanging up in his room of public reception both there and in England (it being at his house at Shene that Mr. Blathwaite [1] procured it me) Scott's Map of England (signed by him as our King's Geographer) which he had not only stolen from the Dutch but is in itself most notoriously false.

SEA-DRAUGHTS

The French knew the way into our principal ports, and particularly up the River of Thames as high as Gravesend, in the time of Edward the 5th or 6th, when they burnt it.[2] (*Q.* of other instances of that kind.) Consequently, no strangers to our sands and soundings so long ago; and why should we think they are grown so since, their commerce with us having ever since increased?

Sebastian Gabot,[3] a Genoese, was Chief Pilot of England in Henry the 7th's time.

Our coasts so well known that till Seller [4] fell into it we had very few draughts, even of our own coasts, printed in England, but all our English masters, even upon our own coasts as well as elsewhere, sailed by the Waggener [5] printed by the Dutch, which they generally use to this very day.

And if we allow them to be our best guides, why should they not be the same to the French, who also generally sail by the very same Wag-

[1] See note on p. 20 above.
[2] This may be a reference to the burning of Gravesend by the French in 1377.
[3] See note on p. 229 above.
[4] See note on p. 11 above.
[5] See note on p. 12 above.

goner [1] printed by the Dutch at Amsterdam, *anno* 1669, in French ?

Consider whether any draughts are to be had now, either printed or by hand, better than what was in print before August 1675, and whether those put out by Seller [2] since are any more than transcriptions with little amendments.

Confer with Trinity House and some able masters upon the topic.

Peruse the Duke of Northumberland's volumes of the whole business of navigation writ so many years since.[3]

Ditto Hackluit's *Voyages*.[4]

DRAUGHTS OF SHIPS AND MODELS

Neither the former, if done in the usual manner upon boards, nor much more the latter, are portable without being exposed to view, as being bulky, and none such therefore could be carried over by Sir A[nthony] D[eane] without Captain Fazeby's [5] and his servant's privity, who both are ready to attest of the baggage he carried with him.

[1] See note on p. 12 above. [2] See note on p. 11 above.

[3] See note on p. 224 above.

[4] Richard Hakluyt's *Voyages* was first issued in 1589.

[5] In July 1675 Sir Anthony Deane was sent over to France to accompany the two yachts he had built at Portsmouth for Louis XIV ' and see them safely lodged in his canal at Versailles ' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iii. 83). The yachts were convoyed by the Greyhound and the Cleveland yacht (*ib.* iii. 93), the latter under the command of Captain William Fasby. Deane himself must have sailed in the Cleveland, and the statement in the text is in his defence against the charge that he had carried over plans to France (see note on p. 198 above).

Nothing secret in the business of Shipwrightry, books being printed in all languages of it: *The Compleat Shipwright* [1]; the like in Dutch; Fournier [2]; *Architecture Navale* [3]; Duke of Northumberland [4]; *King of France his own Ordinances, '73.*[5]

Each nation have their own methods of building, proper for their own occasions and coasts and are therefore best for each.

Our ships equalled in sailing by other nations, viz. both Dutch and French, and out-done by the Turks.

We borrowed our building of frigates from the Dunkirkers.

And at this day our galley-frigates [6] from France.

Q[*uaere*] the French Ruby's [7] sailing.

The Dutch very lately built ships for the King of France.

Confer with Sir A[nthony] D[eane] on this head.

[1] *The Complete Shipwright*, by Edmund Bushnell, was published in 1669.

[2] See note on p. 50 above.

[3] *L'Architecture Navale*, by the Sieur Dassié: Paris, 1677.

[4] See note on p. 224 above.

[5] A copy of 'Ordonnances de Louis XIV, pour la Construction des Vaisseaux' is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1907].

[6] On the two galley-frigates, the James and the Charles, built in 1676 for service in the Mediterranean, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. pp. ci–cii.

[7] Taken from the French in 1666.

SIR ANTHONY DEANE'S OBSERVATIONS TOUCHING THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENGLISH NAVY FROM FOREIGNERS.

The first frigate built in England was named the Constant Warwick, built by Mr. Peter Pett of Wapping in *anno* '49.[1] The shape of this frigate was taken from the Dunkirk frigates, which outsailed all other ships in these seas; and from thence came that improvement. Upon which foundation our frigates from the 3rd-rate downwards were built.

In the year '60 the Dutch gave his Majesty a yacht called the Mary, from whence came the improvement of our present yachts; for until that time we had not heard of such a name in England.

In the years '63 and '64 the Dutch and French built another sort of ships with 2 decks which carried from 60 to 70 guns, and were so contrived that they carried their lower guns 4 foot from the water, and to stow 4 months provision; whereas our frigates from the Dunkirk-built, which were narrower and sharper, carried their guns but little more than 3 foot from the water, and but 10 weeks provision, which was to be avoided. Observing of this, A. D. built the Rupert and Resolution, Mr. Shish the Cambridge, Mr. Johnson the Warspight, Mr. Castle the Defiance.[2] The two latter were by contract with the Commissioners of the Navy bound to carry 6 months provision and their guns to lie $4\frac{1}{2}$ foot from the water. This was another great step and improve-

[1] See note on p. 15 above. The MS. has 'fregat' throughout.

[2] These are all 3rd-rates. The Resolution was built in 1667; the rest in 1666.

ment to our Navy, put in practice by Sir A. D. propounding it to Mr. Pepys, then one of the Commissioners of the Navy.[1]

In the year '65 the D[uke] of Y[ork] beat the Dutch fleet and destroyed upwards of 20 of their men-of-war, upon which the Dutch built 34 ships with 2 decks and a half, carrying from 70 to 84 guns. These ships would carry 6 months provision, and their guns to lie $4\frac{1}{2}$ foot from the water. They are the best ships at this day belonging to Holland. From these ships we had another advantage.

Between the years '66 and '70 the Dutch built for the French King 10 men-of-war from 60 to 76 guns, upon the advantage and improvement of their own men-of-war they built for themselves in the year '65, which they would do for any other prince for money, making shipping a trade rather than a secret.

In the year '66 the Duke of Florence gave his Majesty two of the best galleys they could build, one of which went from Leghorn[2] to Tangier, a place likely to be of no advantage to the giver,

[1] As Clerk of the Acts, Pepys was one of the 'Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy' who constituted the Navy Board.

[2] MS. 'Lighorn.' The State Papers do not appear to contain any reference to these galleys of 1666, but in 1671 two galleys were built for the King at Genoa and Leghorn respectively; the estimate of their cost, dated August 18, 1670, was £23,090 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1671, p. 268). In September 1672 the Leghorn galley made a successful trial trip, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany 'expressed much joy thereat' (*ib.* 1672, p. 606). She was named Margaret, out of compliment to the Grand Duchess; but the Margaret galley in Pepys's *Register of Ships* is described as having been built at the arsenal at Pisa. She was a present from the Grand Duke to Charles II in 1671 (Pepysian MSS., *Miscellanies*, xi. 100), and is probably the same vessel.

who very well knew that a galley was not a secret, or perhaps they would have spared their present. We regarded it so little that it lies decaying by the walls, and made no use of it.

In the years '72 and '73 the French brought a squadron of about 35 ships to the Spithead at Portsmouth, which were to join with us against the Dutch. There were several excellent ships with 2½ decks that carried from 60 to 74 guns; more especially one called the Superbe, which his Majesty and R[oyal] H[ighness] went on board of. This ship was greatly commended, both by the French, and English that went on board her. She was 40 foot broad, carried 74 guns and 6 months provision. And but 2½ decks; our frigates, being narrower, could not stow so much provision nor carry their guns so far from the water. Which Sir A. D. observing, measured the ship and gave his Majesty an account thereof, who was pleased to command A. D. to build the Harwich[1] as near as he could of the Superbe's dimension; which was done according, with such general satisfaction as to be the pattern for the 20 3rd-rates built by the late Act of Parliament,[2] which is generally agreed to be without exception, and the highest improvement that is known to this day.

As to our 3-deck ships, the French and Dutch build them upwards of 44 foot broad, but we

[1] The Harwich, a 3rd-rate, was launched in 1674. When in June 1675 Charles II went to Portsmouth by sea, escorted by a squadron of ships, Pepys wrote, 'The Harwich carries the bell from the whole fleet, great and small' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iii. 77).

[2] A list of these, built under the Act for thirty new ships (see note on p. 13 above), is given in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 223.

build none of our deck ships of the 3 rate [1] above 41 broad, and several under; by which means the Henry,[2] the Katherine,[3] etc., were useless until they were girdled. And to prevent the like for the future, his Majesty has directed those 9 3-deck ships of the 2nd-rate built and a-building to be near 45 foot broad, which is another improvement we had not till the year '73; the builders of England before that time having not well considered it that breadth only will make a stiff ship.

In the year '76 Captain Willshaw [4] came from Thoulon, and was telling his Majesty that they were building at Thoulon several galley-frigates to row with many oars. Captain Willshaw could give his Majesty but an imperfect account, for that he could not well describe them. The next time Sir A. D. attended his Majesty he was pleased to speak of it, and asked if we knew what they were. A. D. answered, No. Sir Joseph Williamson [5] (as I take it), standing by, propounded to send A. D.'s son to see them. To which was replied, he had an acquaintance to whom he would write at Thoulon, and upon his answer did not doubt but to understand it. The answer being returned, A. D.'s son drew the draught of the James galley-frigate and Mr. Pett the Charles upon the same principles,[6] and from

[1] This must mean 3-deck ships, and not 3rd-rates.

[2] A 2nd-rate, built at Deptford by Mr. Callis in 1656.

[3] The Katherine Royal, a 2nd-rate, built at Woolwich by Christopher Pett in 1664. Pepys's *Register of Ships* records the fact that she was girdled.

[4] There were two Willshaws, Francis and his brother Thomas. This is probably the latter, who afterwards (1679) was appointed to the command of the James galley-frigate.

[5] See note on p. 78 above.

[6] See note on p. 240 above.

thence came that improvement so useful to us against the Turks.

And although one country thus gains improvement from another, yet the Dutch, French, Spaniards, and English keep generally to their several manners of building and their own country-fashion. Nay, such is the humour of the commanders and seamen, that they will incline to go in a far lesser ship of their own built [1] than in a greater foreign-built. Witness our commanders loathing a Dutch ship, and the Dutch commanders the same with an English ; and so each country the like.

From what has been said it is plain we have gained by other shipping ; and to shew that the building of ships cannot be kept secret, give me but an hour's time and I (says Sir A. D.) [2] will take the true shape of any ship in the world, so as to build the very same to an inch ; and others may do the like ; and then what of this kind may be a secret ?

Get a good account of some substantial instances of the sufficient virtues and qualifications of the Dutch and French men-of-war from our experience of them in the late war, as to sailing, etc.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] tells me that Mr. Sheldon the shipwright [3] was, at the request of the

[1] See note on p. 18 above.

[2] The words in brackets are inserted in Pepys's hand.

[3] On Francis Sheldon, see Mr. R. C. Anderson's note in the *Mariner's Mirror*, x. 217 (April number, 1924).

King of Sweden by his Minister[1] here, sent to Sweden by Cromwell to be that King's Master Shipwright; where he built many great ships just before my Lord of Sandwich went thither.[2]

He says also that Thomas Day was sent to Denmark; or at least did serve that King as a Master-Builder a great while.

He says also that the King of France served himself for some time with a Dutchman for his Master-Builder at Brest or elsewhere.

And that Samuel Raven went over since the King came in and served the States of Holland; and that by his advice it was that they fell upon building of great ships.

Monsieur Denise says that to his knowledge Captain Wentworth[3] did in the year '71 sell a model of a 4th-rate ship to Monsieur De Vauvre for 55 guineas.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] and Monsieur Denise do both say that young Hubback's son, the King of France's Master-Builder at Brest, did actually work.

Q[*uaere*] what to be learnt for my present purpose from Mr. Berty's building a merchant-ship abroad, and whether by an Englishman or no; and consequently must have communicated so much of our shipbuilding to foreigners.[4]

[1] MS. 'ministers.'

[2] This refers to the voyage of Edward Mountagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, to the Sound in June 1659, to arrange a peace between Sweden and Denmark.

[3] Captain Samuel Wentworth had commanded the Exchange, a hired ship of war, in 1665. He was afterwards (1672) lieutenant of the Monmouth.

[4] This entry is corrected in Pepys's hand.

The like of Prince Rupert's boat made for fetching of Rhenish wine.[1]

Note that the King's best master-shipwright's place in England is not worth above 200*l.* a year, and all died beggars, and none better, I fear, that is now alive, and yet the mystery of such importance that the discovery of any part of it must be thought treason.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] says that Sheldon [2] was bred under Commissioner Pett,[3] and recommended by him upon Cromwell's sending a builder to Sweden. And when he was returned into England could not get his living here; but returned thither again, where he now is; refusing (as W[illiam] H[ewer] tells me) 300*l.* per annum from Mr. Shere [4] to go to Tangier.

Vide several maritime notes in my minute-book touching Scott.[5]

D[uke of] Y[ork] agrees with me in the excellency of the naval instructions of France as they are printed in the Book of Ordinances [6]; France having improved on ours and the Dutch.

And it is plain that our commanders and officers are very ignorant of the constitution and discipline of our own Navy, for want of having

[1] Prince Rupert's galliot, the Rupert, was employed in 1679 'in fetching of some wine over from the Rhine for his Majesty's special use' (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 658, 664).

[2] See note on p. 245 above.

[3] Probably Peter Pett, who was Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham from 1648 until the disaster in the Medway in 1667, for which he was made the scapegoat.

[4] See note on p. 172 above.

[5] See pp. 237–8 above.

[6] See note on p. 162 above.

our orders collected into one body as those of France.

Q[*uaere*] whether all nations are found equally subject to sea-sickness, and whether we are more or less so than others.

Q[*uaere*] how there came to be sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports (as Ogilby[1] says) at the last Coronation, when Lambert[2] (as I remember) speaks but of four.

WORDS TO BE FOUND IN THE INDEX OF THE X SCRIPTORES[3] GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF DIVERSE ANCIENT PARTICULARS RELATING TO OUR NAVY.

Pirata.
Portsmutha et Sandwich, p. 2570.
Naufragia, 1152—15
London, 2606—7
2450—10
2737}
2738}
Mercator, 825—22
Praelium inter Nautas Angl. et Normannos, 2495
Tyrannus Hispanus, 2428—9

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[4] The particular mischief attending the sea-employments from the bilge-stinks through the

[1] See note on p. 58 above.

[2] William Lambarde's *Perambulation of Ken* was written in 1570, and first published in 1576. The edition of 1656 (p. 119) enumerates Hastings, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich as 'the first ports of privilege.'

[3] Sir Roger Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X . . . ex vetustis manuscriptis . . .* 1652.

[4] At this point the entries begin to be made in the hand of another copyist.

pumps, the King[1] giving an instance of his own observation where some were actually killed with it.

Mr. Abraham Hill[2] tells me that there is a half-year's account of Henry 8th's reign to be seen in Gresham College.[3]

The Governor of Dover[4] tells me of an extraordinary point gained of and allowed by France, touching the jurisdiction of England upon the French coast, by a sentence of this King of France's in [a] case of the Governor's about a prize of linseed.

He promises also to shew me how the limits of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England and the Warden of the 5 Ports is intermingled upon the coast of Kent, the Downs itself not being within the Admiral's; so as sweeping for anchors there and all other matters are done by the authority of the Warden, who is called Admiral and wears a flag, and his Lieutenant-Governor does the like at this day upon his yacht, by virtue only of his office, within the limits of his jurisdiction.

Memorandum. That both Captain Priestman[5] and his lieutenant, Fairborn,[6] by their letters, the former of the 17th of May and the latter of the 28th of December 1685, enclosing a sample, do observe that the upper part of the

[1] James II.

[2] Treasurer of the Royal Society 1663–65 and 1679–1700.

[3] See note on p. 210 above.

[4] Colonel John Strode.

[5] Captain Henry Preistman. From 1691 to 1699 he was one of the Admiralty Commissioners; but in 1685 he was commanding the Bonadventure.

[6] In June 1685 Stafford Fairborne was lieutenant of the Bonadventure at Tangier. He was knighted in 1701, and eventually became admiral of the fleet.

Bonadventure's plank under water, being oak, is not touched at all with the worm, while the lower next the keel, being of beech,[1] is very dangerously eaten, this sample being taken from the 3rd strake next the keel.

Seamen are used to danger, and so not confounded upon any surprises of danger, by which 20 of them are in such case of more use than 100 not so accustomed.

Englishmen, and more especially seamen, love their bellies above anything else, and therefore it must always be remembered in the management of the victualling of the Navy that to make any abatement from them in the quantity or agreeableness of the victuals is to discourage and provoke them in the tenderest point, and will sooner render them disgusted with the King's service than any one other hardship that can be put upon them.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] and Sir J[ohn] N[arbrough] discoursing with me about the present excessive number and little service of the yachts, did observe that some of the yachts might be employed with half-pay masters and Christ-Hospital boys (instead of carrying of passengers to no use) to visit all the sands at home and on the other side[2]; adding that all our half-pay

[1] MS. 'beach.'

[2] This is a reversion to a scheme of Charles II's, who in 1678 had proposed 'that some method might be digested' 'for the settling a breed of pilots' from the boys of the new Royal Mathematical Foundation at Christ's Hospital, who were to be 'constantly borne upon his yachts, and there kept to that particular practice of observing the depths of water in all the places the yachts are employed in and passed through, with the shifting of the sands, and what else appertains to the perfecting of a good pilot' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. p. lvii).

masters (as they are now suffered to live) grow good for nothing.

They observe too that all the steerages[1] of our ships, where the boys were always heretofore used to go as to a school, are now-a-days wholly taken up by the commanders for eating-rooms.

And this discourse happening at Portsmouth, at the King's being there September 1686, they do affirm that in all the yachts that were then there attending the King there are not six that take any notice of or understand their voyage thither.

In proof of the little confidence to be put in certificates, recollect the instance that happened thereof in the time of the late Commissioners of the Admiralty[2] upon a certificate of Mr. Shish[3] at Deptford and Sir Phineas Pett[4] for somebody that they could give very little account of.

Ditto the officers of Chatham Yard their certificate about Sir Phineas Pett's son.

May 4th, 1687. Sir John Narbrough[5] and Sir John Berry[6] tell me that they believe that not above one fourth part either of the seamen or commanders employed in the States' fleets are Hollanders born, but foreigners of one nation or other not their own.

[1] MS. 'steeridges.'

[2] The Commission of 1679–84, of which Pepys was so severe a critic.

[3] John Shish, master-shipwright at Deptford. See also note on p. 200 above.

[4] Sir Phineas Pett was Comptroller of the Stores under the Commission of 1679–84, but in 1686 he became resident Commissioner of the Navy for Chatham and Sheerness.

[5] On Sir John Narbrough, see *D.N.B.*, xl. 89.

[6] See note on p. 149 above.

Sir J. Narbrow [1] tells me that he was informed a few days since by one Wiggins, carpenter of the Sandwich now at Chatham, that the Royal Sovereign had a great deal of her body strip[p]ed within 7 years after she was built ; [2] he himself remembering and working upon it ; appealing to another man now alive that can witness the same thing.

[3] An observation of Sir John Narbrough's, viz. that greater wages or allowances won't make a sea-commander more painful but more wanton ; and consequently less apt to bear the inconveniences of a sea-life.

Mr. Hutchinson, Treasurer of the Navy in the time of Oliver and the Rump, was not (as Mr. Hewer tells me) a member of either of the Boards of the Admiralty or Navy, but under the command of both. And yet never was that office better managed, or with more credit or satisfaction to the service. *Q.* his salary and his instruments ? [4]

Q[*uaere*] of Dr. Gale [5] the history of the Civil Law as to its use and authority in England ?

Remember Sir Thomas Meer's [6] expression (who hath since been a Commissioner of the Admiralty) upon a motion in one Parliament

[1] See note on p. 251 above.

[2] See note on p. 235 above.

[3] From this point the entries are in a third hand—the one responsible for the interpolations of 1692 on pp. 214–19 above. It should be noted that the second hand covers the period 1685 to 1689, when Pepys was once more in office and could use the services of the Admiralty clerks.

[4] Richard Hutchinson succeeded Vane as Treasurer of the Navy, January 1, 1651. Particulars of his salary are given in Oppenheim, pp. 351–52.

[5] See note on p. 177 above. [6] See note on p. 160 above.

under King Charles 2nd for the carrying up to the Lords some very important Bill that had passed the House for a supply of money to the Navy, which motion he opposed, urging No, for that they ought to keep it within their own power to grease the hand of the Court with, that something else may be secured its going down with it that was then before them which he had reason to believe would pinch the Court; manifestly implying the business of the Navy to be to be lookt upon as a matter more in the reckoning and care of the King than theirs.

Note, February 1691–2, that the non-performance of instructions having by the N[avy] O[ffice] been regularly made a bar to the payment of commanders' wages for the 2 years last past,[1] they prevailed with King William wholly to pardon them for the former, and for the latter too, with the forfeiture only of a month's wages each. But who is there that considers, and how few at this day able to assign, how short in proportion the value of that forfeiture is to the damage the Crown exposes its service and treasure to from the letting loose of those their instructions. Nor do I hear of any expedient using for the securing a better account of them at the end of the present year than the commanders' attempt, by the hand of their Admiral, Mr. Russell [2] (in a project exhibited by him to

[1] This was a reversion to an earlier practice, for even Charles II, who wanted to pardon everybody, had been prevailed on by the Admiralty Commission of 1673–79 to approve an order of February 10, 1677, 'that from henceforth his Majesty's pleasure be signified in an especial manner to each commander that he will expect from henceforth the full compliance with the [Admiralty] Instructions, and that upon their failure therein their wages shall be forfeited' to the Chest at Chatham (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 404).

[2] See note on p. 216 above.

that purpose to the Admiralty Board) for cancelling, or at least enervating, all that was most important for use and efficacy through the whole body of the said instructions.

Q[uaere]. Did ever the Dutch and French fit out to sea an English man-of-war prize, as we have done many of theirs ?

Memorandum. That in the Declaration of the House of Commons printed 1642 (whereof Sir Peter Pett [1] has a copy) touching the general accounts of the kingdom as to its receipts and disbursements by land and sea from the beginning of that Parliament to the first of June 1642, and containing in particular an account of the disbursements for the Navy within that time out of the Tonnage and Poundage, the charge of the ordinary [2] of the Navy was valued, viz—

Pro Anno	1640,—		at 27610*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*
	1641,—		at 27122*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*
	1642 at	21056*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* victuals 7655*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*	28712*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*

[3] Much may be guessed at touching the truth of the stories we value ourselves upon of our ancient dominion and faits [4] at sea, from the true knowledge of and reflection upon the state of the affairs in general, and particular characters of the Princes of England in whose time the same are said to happen, compared with the concurrent histories of our neighbours.

Was not the first solemn provision of charity for seamen that which was raised by themselves out of their own pay for the relief of their wounded

[1] See note on p. 212 above.

[2] *I.e.* the charge of ships out of commission and laid up in harbour.

[3] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[4] An obsolete form of ' feats.'

brethren and widows in 1588, namely, the Chest at Chatham ? [1]

And was not the first private institution of a charity to the same purpose, and I think the only one, that of Sir John Hawkins's Hospital at the said place ? [2]

Q[*uaere*] the debt of the Navy and state of the ships and stores therein at the King's Restoration, 1660 ?

To complete my other general registers of the Navy already provided for my time, it were proper for me to add one more thereto, namely, of the general succession of the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy serving at the Board and in their respective yards, together with the several Secretaries to the Lord Admiral and Commissions of the Admiralty.[3]

Which register of Officers and Secretaries will administer much matter worthy reflection for future use to the public upon a strict and impartial examination of the proofs and qualifications had, services or unserviceablenesses of the said persons.

[4] Will not the constant and evident hazards of a seaman's life, and the odds therefore of their dying untimely deaths, go a great way towards atoning for the general libertinism and unthriftiness of their lives, at least towards the shewing the unlikelihood of that trade's raising many families to wealth (as others do) were the profits to be made thereby greater than they at the best are now known to be ?

[1] See note on p. 232 above. [2] Built in 1592.
[3] This last is supplied by Mr. William Hewer on p. 291 below.
[4] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

Masters of the King's ships are commonly examined and certified for according to the rate of the ship, but no such difference regarded in the choice of commanders.

Unreasonable and dangerous for commanders, who avoid the charges of navigating their ships, to name or recommend them that are to do it.

Was not the naval force of England (for so much as it then was) better lookt after and cheaper maintained when it lay only in the hands of the Cinque Ports, the sole private owners thereof, than since it came to lie in the King's own ?

Little care goes to the making officers of the Navy for their own preservation to put in very wholesome words and cautions in their orders for any service to be done ; such as words of Dispatch, Efficacy, Good Husbandry, etc., sufficient to secure them against any future unskilful and precipitate inquisitions, though they never think afterwards of looking whether such orders of theirs be in those terms strictly complied with by the under-officers. And to this a very great share of the miscarriage of the Navy (if not the greatest) is to be imputed.

An ignorant pretender to an office has but (by his interest) to get himself put into one, how unfit soever he knows himself, and indisposed for the labour necessary to render him otherwise. For (from all my observation, and more particularly in the Navy) no degree of inexperience or unusefulness, by age or otherways (provided he can but keep himself from making enemies by being troublesome in his office) ever sufficed to turn a man out on't without some provision made for rendering such his removal easy to him by pension

or other equivalent, if not advantage,—*verbi gratiâ*,

Brought into the Navy for want of other ways of gratification.

- Sir John Werden [1]
- Brisband [2]
- Sir Thomas Harvey [3]
- Lord Berkley [4]
- Sir John Ernley [5]
- Mr. Savill [6]
- Mr. Seymour [7]
- Sir Thomas Osborne [8]
- Sir Thomas Littleton, [9] etc.

[1] Sir John Werden (or Worden) had been Secretary to James, Duke of York, when he was Lord High Admiral, but in 1673, in order to compensate him for being displaced by Pepys, who was made Secretary to the collective Admiralty, he was made an additional Commissioner of the Navy.

[2] Mr. John Brisbane was made Secretary of the Admiralty in 1680, following Thomas Hayter, who had succeeded Pepys.

[3] Sir Thomas Harvey was an additional Commissioner of the Navy from 1665 to 1668. Pepys says that he bought his place of his predecessor (*Diary*, June 26, 1667), and calls him 'an idle fellow' (*ib.* November 16, 1667).

[4] Lord Berkeley of Stratton was an additional Commissioner of the Navy from 1660 until the end of 1664.

[5] Sir John Ernle was Comptroller of the Stores from 1671 to 1676. He afterwards (1677) became a Commissioner of the Admiralty.

[6] Henry Savile the diplomatist was a Commissioner of the Admiralty from 1682 to 1684.

[7] Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, was appointed an additional Commissioner of the Navy in May 1672, and in the following February he became Speaker of the House of Commons. From 1673 until 1681 he was Treasurer of the Navy, and for the first six years of this time an Admiralty Commissioner also. The result of this plurality of appointments was that although, as Treasurer, he was a member of the Navy Board, he did not attend a single meeting during the whole eight years of his membership (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 88).

[8] Sir Thomas Osborne was appointed joint Treasurer of the Navy in 1668, and sole Treasurer in 1671. He resigned in 1673, but became an Admiralty Commissioner. He is better known as Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds.

[9] Sir Thomas Littleton was Osborne's colleague as Treasurer from 1668 to 1671. In 1681 he became a Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Provided for under the late Commission.	Sir Richard Haddock [1] Sir John Tippets [2] Mr. Sotherne [3]
Called from sea to the Navy Board.	Sir John Meanes [4] Sir Thomas Allen [5] Sir Jeremy Smith [6] Sir Joseph Jordan [7] Sir Richard Haddock Sir John Chichley,[8] etc.

Nor is it to be overlooked that in this maritime nation this misconduct should be found

[1] Sir Richard Haddock, who had been a Commissioner of the Navy from 1673, became Comptroller in 1682, and held the office until his death in 1715. The 'late Commission' is that of 1679–84.

[2] Sir John Tippetts was appointed resident Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth in 1668. In 1672 he became Surveyor of the Navy, which office he held, subject to the changes of 1686, until his death in 1692.

[3] James Sotherne was appointed joint Clerk of the Acts in 1677, and became sole Clerk in 1679. In 1689 he became Secretary of the Admiralty.

[4] Sir John Mennes was Comptroller of the Navy from 1661 until his death in 1671. Pepys resented his inefficiency, and the *Diary* contains a good many uncomplimentary remarks about him, but he had been a capable seaman in his day. At the time of his appointment he was in command of the Henry, a 2nd-rate.

[5] Sir Thomas Allin was Comptroller of the Navy from 1671 to 1680. He had served under Prince Rupert, and had acquired a considerable reputation at sea.

[6] Sir Jeremy Smyth was Comptroller of the Victualling from 1669 until his death in 1675. He had served at sea with distinction, and at the time of his appointment was Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

[7] Sir Joseph Jordan had 'many and faithful services' at sea to his credit, but he was never actually a member of the Navy Board. Pepys is not likely to have been mistaken on a point of this kind, and the text may refer to an invitation that was not accepted. Jordan died in 1685.

[8] Sir John Chicheley was a Commissioner of the Navy from 1675 to 1679, and an Admiralty Commissioner from 1681 to 1684, and again from 1689 to 1690. He had fought in both the Dutch wars of Charles II's reign, and was a rear-admiral at the time of his first appointment.

operating nowhere more than in the business of the Navy, witness the choice of the persons through every of the Commissions of the Admiralty, not only of ancient time but more eminently in those 2 within mine, under Princes and in an age we should least expect it, namely, King Charles 2nd and the present King.[1] In the former of which not one, as I remember, was chosen that had the least knowledge in sea-matters, and where upon vacancies a few seamen were afterwards let in, it is notorious that it neither was for the sake of their seamanship but for other reasons, nor that the Admiralty was anything profited by their mixture but made worse, such was the choice thereof. And for the latter, the effects of it need no other comment. This only I shall note, that as some of the most intelligent men of the first nomination in each Commission either never would come thereto or flung up their commissions after a little trial of it, so seems it very extraordinary that Sir Thomas Leigh,[2] who was one that resigned his place in the first Commission and himself gave me for the reason of it his conviction, after some practice therein, of its being to no purpose for him, at his age and under his inexperience, ever to hope to arrive at any useful degree of knowledge in it (which was about the year 1679 or '80) could for the sake of 1000*l.* salary (and though a man of a known estate) think himself better qualified for the undertaking it when he was become 8 or 9 years older, and by that time of an age considerable, joined with a state of body very infirm under a grown

[1] William III.

[2] Sir Thomas Lee was a member of the Admiralty Commission of 1679, but resigned in 1681. In 1689 he was appointed to the new Commission created after the Revolution, and held office until his death in 1691.

dropsy, whereof in about 2 years after he died in the execution of his place in that Commission under King William about the year 1690 or 1691.

Nothing seems more wanting among us in reference to the matters of the sea than a thorough explanation and public knowledge of this truth, viz. that no kind or degree of the land-education in use among us in England, whether of the liberal or servile sorts, qualifies a man at all for a sea-employment (as such), or gives him any considerable help towards it ; which might easily be done, and most naturally, by running through the various species of education and practice, from the highest to the lowest, making any of the methods of living among us, and shewing by particulars how totally foreign and unakin[1] they are to that of the seaman's, not only as to things and action, but even as to the very language itself, utterly unintelligible to a land-man. Which comparison would be no less entertaining and pleasant in the making than of public benefit when made.

[2] Recollect that printed letter which I am sure I have read of Bishop Williams's,[3] giving advice to the then rising Duke of Buckingham to lay down his Admiralship, for very good reasons of Court, safety, and profit, therein particularly assigned.

Laziness in the yard-officers, impatience and vanity of ship-officers, and the general pretence of keeping stores from decay, are standing im-

[1] MS. 'unakind.'

[2] This entry is in Pepys's own hand.

[3] Buckingham became Lord High Admiral in 1619, and from 1621 until 1624 John Williams, now Bishop of Lincoln, was one of his political counsellors.

pediments to the retaining strictly apart the stores laid up for particular ships : adding thereto the easy justification of their being applied to other ships by the formality of orders for their being supplied by new, while nobody stands charged with the effectual seeing or remembering that the same be done.

The more maritime a country the less secure, by how much the safety of it lies in a matter too servile for those to stoop to that are to govern. For an instance, *memorandum* the King's condition (Charles 2) when in his extremity. [1] *Vide* p. 284 for explanation.

Turn our clergy-reading into saying the compass and frame our children's schools accordingly, as slinging was promoted by the mothers among the children of the Baleares. *Vide* No. 205 in Trajan's Pillar [2] ; remembering that the clergy-reading is (I think) nowhere used but here, and one would think much less worthy the privilege given it than saying the compass, or some such like sea-distinction, should be reckoned in this nation.

Nobody that hath anything to lose will adventure upon the business of the Navy with an intention of serving well, boldly, and honestly in it, where he is not sure of an appeal in being, able to judge knowingly and determine absolutely and uninterestedly in the matters of his duty and charge, as well to secure, protect, reward, and revenge him (where injured) while doing well,

[1] This sentence is in Pepys's own hand. P. 284 in the MS. is p. 265 below.

[2] *Historia utriusque Belli Dacici, in Columna Trajani Expressi, cum figuris aeneis*, by Alphonsus Ciaconius, published at Rome in 1616.

as to punish or expose him where as reasonably convicted of doing otherwise.

How foolishly the 5 Port Barons look at a Coronation now, and no Admiral, etc., to have any place at that solemnity.

Was Lord Nottingham,[1] etc., ever thanked by Parliament for 1588?

Or any reward or provision for seamen; but motions for the latter in 1589 and 1592 and 1601 made abortive; but contributions in both Houses for soldiers. *Vide* the Journals.[2]

But remember above all Dannet and Peake's motions in the House of Commons about the neglect of the sea and mariners, 1601.[3]

One instance of the consequence of the Navy-works being no better understood in the State is, that when their jealousy of being imposed upon in it makes them restless, and willing to shew a mark of their dissatisfaction upon some or other for it, they presently[4] fall upon him or them that are most eminently active in it (as some such there must always be as the Navy is now ordered, or the whole must stand still) while they overlook the idlers as if they only were innocent, and who indeed, from the consciousness of their incapacity

[1] See note on p. 10 above.

[2] This probably refers to the Bill for the relief of 'maimed soldiers and mariners' which was under consideration in Parliament in the session of 1593 (see D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 509 ff.). It stands in the Statute book as 35 Eliz. c. 4. It was superseded by an Act of 1601 (43 Eliz. c. 3) 'for the necessary relief of soldiers and mariners.'

[3] A reference to the speeches of Mr. Dannet, M.P. for Yarmouth, and Mr. Peake, M.P. for Sandwich, complaining of piracy (D'Ewes, p. 665).

[4] *I.e.* immediately.

of justifying anything, do commonly secure themselves by falling in with the complainers. By which means he who passes all the time of his service drudging under envy to support the whole, is in a time of inquisition called upon and by a virtuous indignation tempted to take upon him the vindication of the whole, though as to his particular he is least or not at all concerned to do it but yet is alone capable of it, and (from the ignorance of those that press him to it) could do it were matters in much worse order than they are, while he is possibly at the very same time labouring in its proper place (with the King and Lord Admiral) to expose and remedy them.[1] I say by this means the Government-Ministers stand in their own light for ever knowing the evil they complain of, so as to be in the way of rectifying it ; which they would necessarily do had they skill enough to discern the well- from the ill-doers in their service, and single the latter out to give an account of their provinces apart, as well as their joint duties with the whole. This would immediately let them into a true view of the Navy's condition, and what therein is either truly laudable and deserving public encouragement (as to persons or things) or as truly blameable and calling for correction and amendment. *Prob*[*atum*], from the proceeding and event of the former Brook House inquisition,[2] by their thus using of Mr. Pepys, and the issue of it then,

[1] Pepys must be thinking of his own exposure of administrative abuses in his ' great letter ' to the Duke of York in 1668 (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 28–32).

[2] The chief office of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, appointed in 1667, was at Brooke House, Holborn. Pepys was summoned before them on January 31, and again on July 3, 1668, when he gave them ' proper and safe answers ' (*Diary*) ; and in 1669 he undertook the defence of the whole Navy Board against their criticisms (*Catalogue*, i. 33–36).

and what it must be of the latter now on foot (September 1692) [1] with respect to Sir A. Deane and Mr. Hewer; while the Lord F[alkland],[2] Sir R[ichard] H[addock],[3] Sir J[ohn] T[ippetts],[4] J[ames] S[otherne],[5] and that whole Board,[6] as well as the Admiralty's, are scarce spoken of, as being rather accusers, and would be wholly overlooked, nay, thanked as good officers, but as the defence forced from the former 2 may necessarily expose and bring them under observation.

The life of a virtuous Officer in the Navy is a continual war defensive, viz. against the Ministers of State, and in particular the Lord Treasurers, in time of peace, and all prejudiced inquisitors and malcontents with the Navy management in time of war; the former grudging every penny of money almost that is spent, and so keeping it short and postponing it to all other occasions in all the means either of repairing the ships, building of new, laying up of stores, or executing any of its good laws for preserving of discipline by the protection which the breakers of them find from some or other friends of potency at Court. While on the other hand, during war its Officers are not only left to shift for themselves but have it expected from them by the Court to find ways of imposing upon the world the belief

[1] William III's Commission of Public Accounts was appointed in 1690 under an Act of Parliament (2 W. & M. c. 11), but it did not report until November 15, 1692. This exonerated the Special Commission of 1686 in general and Deane and Hewer in particular from charges which had been brought against them (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 94–97).

[2] Treasurer of the Navy 1681–89.

[3] Comptroller of the Navy 1682–1715.

[4] Surveyor of the Navy, reappointed 1688.

[5] Clerk of the Acts, reappointed 1688.

[6] *I.e.* the Navy Board.

of all things being well in the Navy, the supplies of moneys plentiful, and the work done. And if they cannot succeed in it, but by the plainness of their misconduct are rendered unjustifiable, are delivered over to the inquisitors, and those only of them left to bear the burthen of all, that in their particular places best deserved of the Commonwealth, by having both done and suffered most towards the reproving and remedying what was indeed amiss, and in the contending for and doing the little that was otherwise.

[1] The Auditors of the Imprest being wholly strangers to the business of the Navy, and concerned only to see that the Treasurer brings 3 Officers' hands for his vouchers, the good or ill husbandrys, etc., of it never appear, and so the Officers secure therein.

[1] The lamentable condition I see the poor King in (King Charles 2) when in his epilepsy, through the awkwardness[2] and private interests and punctilios[3] of his people about him (rendering him less happy than any his meanest subject) is a proper instance for explaining the condition of the Navy while under the inspection and conduct of hands too big for it.[4]

Consider the consequence of commanders having now (1692) for 3 whole years been forgiven the non-observance of their instructions, with the present Navy Board's letter of the 7th of March, 1690–1, to Admiral Russell thereon, and in particular with regard to the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th articles, rendering impossible the

[1] This entry is in Pepys's own hand.
[2] MS. 'awkerdness.'
[3] MS. 'pountilios.'
[4] See p. 261 above.

exact knowing the truth of their W. and T.,[1] or of the reasonableness of their so frequent demands of stores in port. *Memorandum,* to see how it fares with the Government in commanders' better compliances therein the 4th year. And the rather for the collecting from thence any use that shall be made of that light which the Commissioners of Accounts have been furnisht with for shewing the importance of this evil in the answers given them by Sir A. Deane and Mr. Hewer, within the same year 1692, to their enquiries into their past management.[2]

But to what purpose do I trouble myself with any thoughts of future managements, after the evidence given me by the no use at all made by the said Commissioners of those gentlemen's demonstrations in the present Parliament sitting December 1692, when the calculation were in agitation for providing for the charge of the next year, and therein the full demand of the N[avy] O[fficers] at their old medium hath been (as I think) swallowed to a penny, that greatness of charge is no more to be considered in the Navy, and that by consequence it seems a ridiculous care to be now poring after methods of saving to come, or improving of any past.

Few seamen's names appear celebrated among our historians saving what are remembered by poor Hacklewit[3] and Purchas,—*vide* Baker,[4] Fuller,[5]

[1] Wear and tear. See note on p. 218 above.

[2] See note on p. 264 above.

[3] *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries,* by Richard Hakluyt (1589), and *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), by Samuel Purchas. 'Poor Hacklewit' is not quite intelligible—unless it refers to the misconduct of his son.

[4] Probably Sir Richard Baker the historian, author of the *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1643).

[5] Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England* was published in 1662.

etc. Whereas in a nation so pretending, one would have thought our histories should have been full of none else. *Vide* also the author of our English *Herologia*.[1]

The old tribute of Danegeld a bad proof of Sea Dominion. *Q.* its history and continuance.

Several projects and Bills seem to be now on foot in Parliament for the better encouraging, inviting, and securing of seamen in the service. But all probably ineffectual, or indeed any other good sea-establishments; the matters thereof being generally so foreign to the gentlemen of England, and by their being also of public concernment only, few or none think themselves obliged or interested to study them. From whence it follows that Committees whereto any of those matters be referred are generally so ill-attended. Besides, while it is plain that, without some degrees of coercion properly placed than can now be legally exercised either by the Lord Admiral or the King himself, no considerable amendments of any kind can be hoped for in the Navy, Parliaments are so jealous of the liberties of the subject that it seems not to be expected that without more fervour, more knowledge, and more credit in sea-affairs than any in the Government now appear furnisht with towards evincing the necessity of it, they will ever be induced to lodge, either in their Admiral or in the Crown itself, such an increase of power over the persons, liberty, or purses of the seaman of England and his officers and the Officers of the Navy, and such constraints (as little pleasing to the Court) upon

[1] The famous illustrated publication, in two folio volumes, issued in 1620 by Henry Holland the compiler and publisher, under the title *Herωlogia Anglica*.

the power and proceedings of the greater Officers of the State, and particularly the Council-Table and Treasury, as seems indispensable in the effectual providing for the weal of the Navy of England. Though at the same time more complaints arise, and justly, every day, of the irregularities and violences committed in that one particular of the pressing of men, than would by many degrees be consequential to all the power of coercion that needed to be asked of a Parliament for securing the government of the service of the seamen it hath, and making their number more.

Though above all, the length and badness of the payment of the seaman's wages, with the addition of the late severity exercised upon some of them at Chatham for asking the same; their ill usage from commanders, and want of permission to help themselves in intervals of public service by a temporary liberty of earning a penny in the merchants', are discouragements that I cannot think anything can be proposed of temptations of other kinds sufficient to reconcile them to.

Nor is it an unseasonable contemplation to consider that after 4 years continued war this December 1692, in which a great many men must be thought to have been raised from landmen to answer the ordinary uses of seamen (for so we have found it in shorter wars, even to the not knowing how to dispose of them when ended), there seem to be more complaints for want of men at this day from our sea-commanders (as Mr. Gibson[1] from their letters tells me), and more projects, and those unaccountable ones, now stirring in Parliament towards remedying the

[1] See note on p. 23 above.

same from Sir Richard Onslow [1] of the Admiralty, and Captain St. Loe,[2] late a prisoner in France, than ever were at the beginning of the war.

To which may be added what I lately in part mentioned, and was (I believe) never the case of the Navy in England before, that all things appear now to be kept on foot at sea, whatever they are at land, by the mere excess of the supplies of money granted thereto by the Parliament, to the enabling the Officers of the Navy to carry on things therein at any cost, spending without account, and building ships faster than out of tenderness to themselves they can lose them, and of them none lost in fight neither. The Parliament itself also seeming not willing to enquire into or observe any of their ill husbandries, choosing rather for their own justification to give them for the service of the next year, 1693, to a token [3] the very sum they ask, notwithstanding the informations which the Commissioners of Accounts have received from the papers (as before) from Sir A. Deane and Mr. Hewer towards the correcting of the same.[4]

[1] Sir Richard Onslow was a Commissioner of the Admiralty from January 23, 1691, to April 15, 1693. He was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1708 to 1710, and was raised to the peerage as Baron Onslow in 1716.

[2] A letter of January 11, 1691, refers to Captain George St. Lo, 'late commander of the Portsmouth, now a prisoner in France' (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1690–91, p. 224). On January 8, 1693, he was appointed a Commissioner of Prizes (*ib.* 1693, p. 4), and from September 28, 1693, until November 16, 1714, he was a Commissioner of the Navy (Sir G. F. Duckett, *Naval Commissioners*, 1660–1760, pp. 12–13). He first suggested the placing of a light on the Eddystone (*ib.* p. 124). See also *D.N.B.*, l. 172. St. Lo's views are expounded in a pamphlet entitled *England's Safety*, published in 1693.

[3] Tokens were issued to supply the scarcity of coins of very small value. The modern equivalent of the expression would be 'to a farthing.'

[4] See note on p. 264 above.

Sir James Houblon[1] told me, November 23, 1692, that he believed there had been more prizes taken from us by the French twice over in this war than in all the 3 wars together between us and Holland under the Rump and King Charles the 2nd. And if that be so, I may undertake to add, that in those wars we took five times as many prizes of them as we have done in this, and as to men-of-war above 20 times as many, we having now not taken so much as one, and what we did in those it were easy to examine the books of the then and present Prize Offices for. And as a more particular evidence of the former relating to our merchantmen lost, it hath appeared from this Parliament's late enquiries upon a petition exhibited to them on that subject from the merchants and others of London,[2] that this City alone hath since this war lost above 1500 ships, amounting to 2 millions in money. To the occasioning that vote in the Committee of the whole House for the House's giving it as one article of their advice to the King, that the Commission of the Admiralty might be intrusted to persons experienced in maritime affairs.[3]

Note here that the newly mentioned Captain St. Loe,[4] in a late printed book of his about occurrences during his imprisonment in France does, like one of his unthoughtfulness, rate the losses of all England but at 600 vessels. And yet notwithstanding the little pertinency of what he writes, good use might be made of the account he therein gives us of the methods and dispatch

[1] Pepys's friend James Houblon the merchant had been knighted on October 29, 1692.

[2] See note on p. 216 above.

[3] See p. 218 above.

[4] See p. 269 above.

he had opportunity of observing there in the business of the navy of France.

It might not be amiss some time or other to compare my printed list of December 18, '88,[1] and Sir A[nthony] D[eane's] and Mr. H[ewer]'s to the Commissioners of Accounts, '92,[2] as to the columns of Repaired and Unrepaired; to the observing what, if any, disagreements appear therein.

Note that the account given of the Navy by each of us for our time will be found the first like state that was ever given of the Navy of England, not excepting that only one that can be so much as pretended to have been ever at all given thereof, viz. by the Commission especially erected for taking the same 1618,[3] when the Navy was not the 5th part of what it is now.

It is a note worthy observation for future use, namely, that the plenty of ships at the same time in condition for service (a circumstance never known in the Navy within my time or reading, till this Commission of ours rendered it so) was, by the vanity of commanders and facility of the King, made but an occasion for the Crown's being put to a wanton degree of charge by tempting them to a confidence of asking and insisting upon their being gratified in the choice of their ships, and those always of the greater charge

[1] 'A List and State of the Royal Navy' on December 18, 1688, printed at the end of Pepys's *Memoires*, 1690.

[2] See p. 264 above.

[3] On the Commission of 1618, see Oppenheim, pp. 194–97. Copies of the Commissioners' Survey are among the Rawlinson MSS. (A. 192, f. 12; 215, f. 252), as also 'Three books of propositions for the regulating and better government' of the Navy emanating from them (A. 455, f. 33*b*), and documents relating to their proceedings, 1618–26 (*ib.* f. 76).

and for the most part of a higher rate than they deserved or could pretend to. Whereas before, when ships could hardly be repaired or fitted so fast as the service even in peace did call for them, they were contented with anything, and generally invited the King to give them employment (when the work of the sea was small) by the smallness of the charge of the ships they would propose to serve in, rather than lie out of his pay without hopes from their past behaviour of ever getting any in the merchants'. Whereas, quite contrary, after we had raised the fleet to a general state of repair, we had nothing but complaints from sea of the weak and unserviceable condition of their old ships, that they might have opportunity of coming into port to look out for a bigger.

My adhesion to the Crown not founded upon private advantage; witness my case, and the King's last testimony thereto.[1]

Never thought my employment in the Admiralty worthy my taking out a patent for; that in 1686[2] being at the King's own instance and for his only service, by the enabling me to administer an oath. This being enough confirmed by my not thinking it worthy my charge in

[1] This is an allusion to the debt from the Crown of £28,007 2*s*. 1¼*d*. admitted by Charles II and James II, but left unpaid by the Government of the Revolution. The 'King's last testimony thereto' is a letter of November 17, 1688, from James II to the Commissioners of the Treasury, urging Pepys's claim on account of his long and faithful service. This letter does not appear to have been sent in to the Commissioners, but was handed by the King to Pepys himself. It is now in the possession of the Pepys Cockerell family.

[2] Pepys's patent for the office of Secretary of the Admiralty is dated 1684. He was so proud of it that the error in the date is surprising.

renewing it after the death of King Charles, but acting from that time upon the force only of King James's General Proclamation.[1]

My felicity known to lie in less room and to be had with less noise (*sub otio literato*) than in the public troubles of life my employment hath been ever exposing me to.

Nor can Sir A[nthony] D[eane] and W[illiam] H[ewer] be thought to have taken any more satisfaction in their having any part in the last Commission,[2] from the industry employed by them, and making use of my help also, to get themselves out of it as soon as they could with honour.

The Navy of England will never be found to have been once in the good condition I have had the leaving of it twice, viz. in April 1679 and December 1688.

What a pother was heretofore made about the pretended discovery of our sands, etc., to strangers. While it now appears how little use we were able to make of our supposed only knowledge of them ourselves at so critical a juncture as that was when my Lord Dartmouth[3] could not tell how to get his fleet out of them, though there by his own choice, and after all the

[1] Proclamation of February 6, 1685, ordering that all persons then in office should continue during pleasure (R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, i. 457).

[2] Deane and Hewer were both members of the Special Commission of 1686; but the former was only prevailed on with difficulty to accept appointment (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 75–78).

[3] George Legge, created Baron Dartmouth December 2, 1682, was not a practical seaman, and had had little experience afloat. For an account of the difficulties in which he placed the English fleet in 1688 see *D.N.B.*, xxxii. 409.

cautions given him by the King against the very evil he betrayed himself and his unhappy Master to by going thither.

Consider the peculiar figure of the London wherry which I have heard Sir A[nthony] D[eane] speak so advantageously of, viz. how far his character thereof is justly given thereto : whether peculiar to this River or kingdom ; what country boats nearest approach thereto ; and whether not the Greenland canoe[1] or fishing-boat.

Collect from our Heralds what plenty of surnames[2] there are in England of plain maritime or naval etymology, with the like of coats of arms ; taking notice herein of those lately purchased by Sir Cloudesley Shovell.[3]

Ditto of the arms of the maritime towns of England.

Note that Cromwell purchased the first standing office that ever was yet provided for the Navy of England, viz. that in Seething Lane.[4] *Q.* when and at what charge ? Observing also how long it was after its burning before it was rebuilt,[5] and not then neither but by moneys

[1] MS. ' canoo.'

[2] MS. ' sirnames.'

[3] Sir Clowdisley Shovell, knighted May 16, 1689, received a grant of arms on January 6, 1692, in commemoration of his victories over the French and the Turks (Nichols, *Herald and Genealogist*, iii. 31).

[4] In 1654 Sir John Wolstenholme's house at the corner of Crutched Friars and Seething Lane was purchased for a standing office for the Navy Board (Oppenheim, p. 349).

[5] There was a destructive fire at the Navy Office on January 29, 1673. It was rebuilt in 1682 under an Act of Parliament (25 Car. II, c. 10) on an enlarged and ' more commodious ' site (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 109). A print of 1714, shewing the Office as rebuilt, is inserted in Wheatley's edition of the *Diary* (i. 192), with the erroneous implication that it represents the building as it was in 1660, when Pepys became Clerk of the Acts.

taken up at interest, secured upon the said Office and dwelling houses of the Officers when built. Upon which credit the purchase money remains still secured, paying interest.

What Pett was Sir P. Pett's father ? [1]

Consider the several strainings of arguments made use of by Mr. Selden for support of his *Mare Clausum* ; [2] together with Sir William Petty's reflections on that subject in his Lecture exhibited by Sir Robert Southwell at Gresham College treating upon Water.[3]

Ditto Sir Philip Meadows's Tract.[4]

Ditto Sir P. Pett's note out of Mr. Cambden about Queen Elizabeth's not challenging the Sea-Sovereignty in the extent we ordinarily discourse of it.[5]

Q[uaere] the history of our High Court of Admiralty ? particularly as to its time, name, and authority.

Consider the monuments erected by the Dutch at their public charge in memory of their sea-commanders legible in the *Hollande Metallique*.[6]

See the ground of the high character given Sir Thomas Reeve's description of sea-battles by Fuller in his *Worthies* or Mr. Wood of Oxford.[7]

[1] The reference is probably to Sir Peter Pett, the lawyer and author, son of Peter Pett the master-shipwright at Deptford.

[2] See note on p. 53 above.

[3] A copy of 'A Discourse made by Sir Robert Southwell before the Royal Society 8 April, 1675, touching water' is in Pepys's *Miscellanies* (ii. 505).

[4] See note on p. 3 above.

[5] See p. 212 above.

[6] *Histoire Métallique de la Republique de Hollande*, by the Sieur Bizot, Paris, 1687.

[7] On Sir Thomas Ryves, who wrote (1629–40) on naval history from Noah to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, see *D.N.B.*, l. 72. 'Mr. Wood of Oxford' is Anthony Wood, the compiler of *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691–92).

Reflect upon our so little regarding in any age, past or present, to cultivate the growth or manufacture of naval commodities among ourselves, but relying still upon foreign supplies, even of goods equally producible in England and Scotland; and in particular cordage and sail-cloth, and most of all oak-timber and masts. Witness the proof of the latter upon Pett's experiment in Scotland,[1] and the former in my own and fellow-Officers' visit to the Forest of Dean and report thereon to King Charles 2nd.[2]

Vide also on this subject Jamys Humphrey's [3] List of Naval Stores and their Prices,[4] foreign and domestic, in his time.

Straitness of time and hurry of other business (besides the other considerations a little before mentioned) can never permit any steady provision to be made for the constant well-being and well-doing of the Navy from Parliaments, otherwise than by their constituting a permanent Council well chosen and fully empowered as well as instructed for the superintending the whole

[1] The member of the numerous Pett family to whom Pepys would be likely to refer in this way is his former colleague, Peter Pett, who had been Commissioner of the Navy at Chatham when the Dutch came up the Medway in June 1667.

[2] A copy of 'The State of the Forest of Dean, given in by the Officers of the Navy, taken 1671' is in Pepys's *Abstract of Naval Papers* (vol. i., No. 56).

[3] A volume among the Rawlinson MSS. (C. 846) contains extracts made for Pepys out of a book of Naval Collections compiled by James Humfrey in 1568, and lent to Pepys in 1668 by the Duke of York. There is also a copy of the collections in the Pepysian Library under the title 'The Boke of the Lawe of Olerone . . .' (see *Bibliotheca Pepysiana*, Pt. i. p. 2). According to Pepys, the author was a surveyor or clerk in the Navy Office.

[4] The reference is probably to 'Prices of all kinds of stores taken up for the Queen's ships in 1564, with payments made to James Humfrey with respect to the same' (Rawlinson MSS., C. 846, f. 163).

thereof in intervals of Parliament, to be accountable thereto for the same when sitting; suitable for the whole to what the King of France's *Conseil des Constructions* serves for with particular respect to the building, repairing, and improving of his ships.

Consider man by man the personal qualifications of the members of the 2 tribunals erected within my time for the looking into and arraigning of the accounts of the Navy;[1] all of them allowed for men of more than ordinary abilities in their several methods of education and practice, and particularly those of them that were merchants, and all chosen by the Parliament itself, once out of their own number and the other time out of this City and kingdom at large. And yet without the least appearance of effect, either by detecting and bringing to punishment any misdoings past or making provision for the least amendment in the methods and proceedings of it to come; but a plain exposure of their insufficiencies for doing either, through their unpreparedness therefor by any previous experiences in the matters of the Navy. And yet as insufficient as they prove, such has ever been and is at this day the paucity of men in this nation to be found more sufficient, that were the election of another such a tribunal now to be made and

[1] The second tribunal is the Commission of Public Accounts established by 19 & 20 Car. II, c. 1 (1667). The first may be the Committee of the House of Commons appointed earlier in the same year to enquire into the business of discharging seamen by ticket. The Committee of July 29, 1667, to consider the King's expenses, called for a report of the naval charges and the fittest way to reduce them, but this was appointed by Order in Council and not by the Parliament from its own members (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 103).

committed wholly to myself, I durst not undertake to make a better choice, after the proof I had of it in the set of hands proposed entirely (saving the Treasurer) by myself to the King my Master at the setting up of the last Commission ; [1] wherein though there was not one that was not eminently qualified and experienced in some or other of the fundamental articles of the business of the Navy, to the comprehending the whole thereof among them, and notwithstanding all the strictness of their instructions, the King's injunctions, their own promises, and my daily eye and hand upon them, yet what with the laziness of one, the private business or love of pleasure in another, want of method in a third, and zeal to the affair in the most, the issue of that Commission had been as successless in every respect as either of these beforementioned, or any other that ever were in the Navy of England, had not the whole work, conduct, and care of it been upheld by 2 of the number only, namely, Sir A. Deane and Mr. Hewer, as scandalously to the Government as they have been since treated for it. And if there was once a Commission that did terminate with a great deal of good effect to the Navy, and such a one there once (and but once) was when the business of the Navy was indeed very small, namely about the 17th of King James 1st.[2] But then it is most notorious that that whole effect was owing to one person only of the number that was a mettlesome, industrious, and experienced Navy Officer and shipwright,

[1] The Special Commission of 1686. At this time Lord Falkland was Treasurer of the Navy, and he remained in office.

[2] A number of retrenchments were effected by the Special Commission of 1618, and at the same time the efficiency of the Navy was greatly increased.

namely, Mr. Burrell ;[1] and with not much more thanks given him for his pains when all was done.

Enquire after what proverbs our language affords relating to the sea and seamen, my memory furnishing me but with one, and that too much partaking of the low esteem this nation seems to have ever had of that matter, viz. 'The sea and the gallows refuse no man'; verified in one fresh instance of it, December 1692, at the last Sessions at the Old Bailey,[2] wherein several criminals had their punishments commuted for their being sent to sea.

Consult the Auditors' Offices for what old sea-accounts can be come at, as the surest and most extensive method of information to be used in our sea-matters, and particularly as to our eminent leaders and commanders there.

Ditto of Trinity House also for the last particular.

Consult Dr. Braddy[3] of the method and charge of searching and getting transcripts of any sea-record from the Tower.

Reflect upon the difference between the Journals of our seamen extant in Haklewit and Purchas[4] and those now-a-days kept, and the true reason thereof.

No juncture has or can shew a more convincing instance of that universal unattentiveness and

[1] William Burrell had been master-shipwright to the East India Company. He was appointed to the Commission of 1618 and stationed at Deptford, at a salary of £300 a year, to supervise all building and repairs (Oppenheim, p. 195).

[2] MS. 'Bayley.'

[3] Dr. Robert Brady, historian and physician, was Keeper of the Records in the Tower.

[4] See note on p. 266 above.

shortness of knowledge which this nation labours under in reference to its Navy, than what has be[w]rayed itself by public evidences of it, exposed by one or other of every order of the Long Robe and by every other rank of people of the realm met in Parliament, touching the state of the Navy as it was managed and left by the late King James, viz. :

1. By the Bishop of Londonderry,[1] for a divine.
2. The author of the *Observator*, Dr. [2] for a physician.
3. Sir —— Hedges,[3] Judge of the Admiralty, for a Civilian.
4. And for the Common Lawyers, and with them in general the whole mass of every rank, the Parliament, by the Act declaring the then fleet not to have been repaired.[4]

But with this good success, that the necessity they have thereby put myself and others under of discovering the mistake may, if right use be made of it, redound to the present and lasting benefit of the nation.

[1] Dr. William King had been appointed Bishop of Derry on January 9, 1691. In that year he published his 'State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government,' which was criticised by Charles Leslie, the nonjuror, in 1692.

[2] The *Observator* news-sheet, issued by Roger L'Estrange, began to appear on April 13, 1681, but the text seems to refer to an independent pamphlet.

[3] Sir Charles Hedges had been appointed Judge of the Court of Admiralty, 1689.

[4] 2 W. & M. c. 11 (1690). This Act refers (§ 9) to the Commission of 1686 as appointed to repair the King's ships, and money granted them, 'but the said ships were not repaired.' See also note on p. 264 above.

[1] AN ACCOUNT OF THE SEAMEN IN EACH COUNTY (OR CITY THEREIN) REGISTERED BY DR. FULLER IN HIS WORTHIES OF ENGLAND. WITH THE YEAR ABOUT WHICH THEY ARE SEVERALLY INTRODUCED.

County or City.	Persons.	A.D.	Page.	County or City.	Persons.	A.D.	Page
Exeter	David Middleton	1600	189	Norfolk	Nicholas of Lynne	1330	256
	Sir Henry Middleton				Peter Read	1540	
Cornwall	John Arundell	H. 8	202	Notts.	Edward Fenton	1600	318
Derbyshire	Sir Hugh Willoughby	1550	233	Somerset	Sir Amias Preston	1588	26
Devon	William Wilford	...	260	Bristol	Hugh Elliot etc.	1527	35
	Sir Humphrey Gilbert	1580			Mr. Thorne		
	—— Cock	do.		Staffs.	Wm. Minors	1640	44
	Sir Francis Drake	...		Suffolk	Tho. Cavendish, Esq.	1580	66
	Sir W. Raleigh	...		Surrey	Sir Robert Dudley	1610	84
Dorset	Richard Clark	1580	282	Sussex	SirAnthony Shirley, brothers	Abt.	107
	Sir Geo. Summers	1600			Sir Robert	1590	
Gloucestersh.	Sir Wm. Winter	1570	357		Sir Tho.		
Hants.	Sir John Wallop	...	9	Yorks.	Armigell Waad	1560	202
Kent	Robert Tomson	1550	77		Sir Martin Frobisher	1590	
	Wm. Adams	1600			Geo. Clifford, Earl of Cumberland		
Lincolnsh.	John Hartop	1560	163	Anglesey	Madoc Gwineth	1170	19
	Sir Wm. Mounson	1600					
London	Leaves this to others	...	214				

A LIST OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES WHEREIN NO SEAMEN ARE REGISTERED BY HIM.

County or City.	Page.	County or City.	Page.	County or City.	Page.	County or City.	Page.
Berkshire	94	Canterbury	99	Warwickshire	124	Flintshire	39
Bedfordshire	10	Lancashire	114	Westmorland	139	Glamorganshire	42
Bucks.	134	Leicestershire	131	Wilts.	154	Merionethshire	44
Cambridgeshire	156	Middlesex	183	Worcestershire	172	Montgomerysh.	46
Cheshire	180	Westminster	242	York	130	Monmouthsh.	52
Cumberland	220	Norwich	275	Wales	12	Pembrokesh.	57
Durham	296	Northants.	289	Brecknockshire	23	Radnorshire	60
Essex	332	Northumberland	306	Cardigan	25		
Hartfordshire	23	Oxfordshire	336	Carmarthenshire	29		
Herefordshire	38	Rutland	347	Carnarvonshire	32		
Hunts.	50	Shropshire	8	Denbighshire	34		

January 5, 1692–3. Discoursing in general this day with Dr. Plott [2] (upon occasion of something wherein he asked information from me) of the public use it might be of to the Literati and

[1] This table is written on an interleaved sheet.

[2] Dr. Robert Plot (1640–96), Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, 1683. His researches were mainly in natural history and antiquities. Pepys consulted him about timber.

Virtuosi of a nation that some expedient might be set on foot for a general knowledge of what books or other notices are to be found among them upon any subject, upon a presumption that that being done, an expedient might also be found for rendering this reciprocally serviceable by directing him that wants, whither to go for, and him that has, where to communicate what possibly in his hand would remain eternally useless; we fell in particular to apply it to our own several occasions of enquiry, he in his philosophical and I in my naval researches.[1] Upon the subject of which latter being led in especial to mention my being at some loss touching the meaning of some letters of protection (extant in Prynn's[2] large collection of papers in the times of King John, Henry 3, and Edward 1, etc.) to several churches as well as lay-proprietors of the lands and possessions, directed among others to their *capitanei marinariorum et marinarii*, and this with precedence to the *vicecomites et balivi*, and (which is more) granted to churches, particularly the Priory of Okeburne[3] in Wiltshire, that bordered not upon the sea, and therefore seemed capable of little benefit from their naval protection; he suggested to me that these churches might either have some of their lands bordering upon the sea, and so might be benefited thereby, or (which he seemed rather to think) might be charged with the sending of so many men in times of danger to the guard of the sea-coast; which he tells me not only the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Rochester and other maritime bishops were

[1] MS. 'recherches.'

[2] The third volume of William Prynne's *Chronological Vindication* is entitled 'The History of King John, King Henry III, and King Edward I.' It was published in 1670.

[3] Ogbourne, near Marlborough.

anciently obliged to do, everyone according to his fixed quota, but several counties also, and that to his knowledge Wilts in particular and Barkshire are at this day, and were very lately, required to send theirs as their standing duty to the guard of the coast of Hampshire [1] and the Isle of Wight ; and this even to within very little distance of the very town of Oxford, part of which it seems stands in Barks, and where a particular friend of his hath not long ago complained to him of his share in the burthen hereof. And the truth of which, as to the general history of this charge both upon the Church and counties, he hath promised to satisfy me by particulars out of his own Collection ; making this present use of it towards the solving of this difficulty of mine, that he takes the term *marinarii* in these protections to be the landmen thus sent for the guard of the *costera maris*, and the *capitaneus* to be some man of quality charged with the conduct of them. Concerning which seek further ; and in particular what relation the style at this day used in the maritime provinces of France of Capitaineries (which are land-jurisdictions) may have to this enquiry touching the title of *capitaneus marinariorum.*

Remember Sir Harbottle Grimstone's [2] argument against, and my reply to him in Parliament, in favour of the business then in debate there about the building of the 30 ships, to shew how much ignorance in the importance and condition

[1] MS. 'Hantshire.'

[2] Sir Harbottle Grimston was Master of the Rolls 1660–85. He took part, as M.P. for Colchester, in the debate of 1677 about the 30 new ships in which Pepys made his great speech (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 48–53).

of the Navy could lie in the head of a patriot of his magnitude.

Recollect also the sum of money or value of the annual charge which, upon another occasion relating to the Navy, another like patriot, viz. Mr. Sacheverell,[1] undertook to assert was more than the land of all England to be sold was worth. *Q.* it of Sir A[nthony] D[eane] ?

Though Dr. Plott concurs with me in Caesar's being wholly silent as to the Britons [2] having any ships, yet he tells me that it would seem that they were not without ships, even before his coming; forasmuch as Pliny in his *Natural History*, lib. 4, chap. 14 or 16, *De Britannia et Hibernia*, mentions Timaeus Siculus, who (as Vossius, he saith, notes) wrote about 300 years before Caesar, and speaks of the Britons [2] sailing to the island Micthis, which was 6 days sailing, and, as Dr. Gale seems to think, lay somewhere off of Norfolk-shore, and so implieth their being very mean sailors, if any at all.[3] *Q.* more hereof.

That the Britons [4] probably had no such letter as X in their proper names, there being none now, as he saith, in Welsh, and that therefore these little princes of theirs which Caesar calls *reges* or *reguli*, namely, Scingetorix, Taxi-

[1] William Sacheverell, M.P. for Derbyshire 1670–81. He was one of the ablest politicians of Charles II's reign.

[2] MS. 'Brittans.'

[3] 'Timaeus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat. Ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare' (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, lib. iv. c. 16, 'Britannia et Hibernia,' edition of 1669). The Greek historian Timaeus of Sicily lived *c.* 352–256 B.C. Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577–1649), the Dutch classical scholar, published *De historicis Graecis* in 1624 and *De historicis Latinis* in 1627.

[4] MS. 'Brittains.'

magolus, etc., are not to be reckoned Britons[1] but Celts or Gauls.

He observes to me the names of some that bore the office of Admirals or Generals at Sea here under the Romans, viz.,

Volusenus and Q[uintus] Atrius } under Caesar.

Saius [*sic*] Saturnius, under Antoninus Pius, Imperator.

Caius Carausius, under Maximinus.[2]

Nectaridius, under Valentinian, in whose time the Romans went away.

He notes towards clearing that the Roman officer called *Comes Littoris Saxonici* had his charge bounded by the shore on this side only; that besides his known stations marked out to us in the *Notitiae Imperii*,[3] which are placed expressly upon our shore, he is called *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, in exclusion to the shore on the other side which, Mr. Selden so far observes truly, had also the name of *Littus Saxonicum*. But at the same time Dr. Plott[4] notes that it does not appear by the *Notitiae Imperii* that the Romans had any such officer as a *Comes Littoris* on that side.

He observes that this Carausius was this *Comes Littoris Saxonici* under Maximinus.[2]

[1] MS. 'Brittans.' [2] See note on p. 98 above.

[3] The *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, which gives a short account of the civil and military arrangements of the Eastern and Western Empires, is supposed to have been compiled at the beginning of the 5th century.

[4] See note on p. 281 above.

Enquiring of Monsieur Chamiers [1] whether among the refugees in his neighbourhood he could not help me to some countryman of his who has sailed with the English as well as French, so as to have English enough to translate any maritime book out of French into English, he tells me that there is one Captain Jaqueau, who served in the English fleet last year with Mr. Russell [2] and this 1693 with the Lord Danby,[3] who is come from him he thinks in some discontent, and is now ashore. And that he is to be heard of at one Monsieur Barbot's, marchand François, à l'entrée du Pell Mell, August 1693.

He tells me also of a son of Monsieur Daillon, the imprisoned minister,[4] who is a bred seaman and now in our fleet, and so far master of both languages as to be qualified, he believes, for any maritime translations out of either into either of those 2 languages.

Dr. Plott [5] tells me that the word *hobler* implies a horseman, and is at this very day in use in the Isle of Wight, where every parish is at the charge of one or more horsemen, that upon every discovery at sea ride up and down for giving the inland part of it advice thereof.

[1] Monsieur Chamier, described as a French minister, was living in England in 1692 and recommending French refugees for passes (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1691–92, p. 510).

[2] Admiral Russell was in command of the English fleet in 1692, and on May 19 fought the battle of La Hogue.

[3] Peregrine Osborne, the heir of the Marquess of Carmarthen, bore the courtesy title of Earl of Danby until 1694, when his father was created Duke of Leeds. In 1693 he was in command of the Royal William, and on July 12, on Sir John Ashby's death, he was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral.

[4] Monsieur Daillon, described as a French minister, was living in England in 1694 and recommending refugees for passes (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1694–95, p. 340).

[5] See note on p. 281 above.

Dr. Plott [1] also gives me this extract out of the Oxford Library, viz. :

> Sub hoc seculo ad Constabularium et Mareschallum pertinebat tam navales copias quam terrestres educere ; et ex eo natum suspicor quod Carolus Magnus Imp. An° Dn̄i 807 Burchardum, Comitem Stabuli sui (quem corruptè *Constabulum* appellamus), cum classe misit in Corsicam, ut eam a Mauris defenderet, etc. Regino [2] in Lib. 2, in hoc anno.

He notes to me also that Caesar made use of arrows against us in his first expedition hither, and refers me for it to his *Commentaries*, where he useth the word *sagitta*. And adds, that comparing this with Tacitus, where in the *Life of Agricola* he saith that Agricola taught the Britons [3] all the manners of the Romans, even to the toga, it seems to him probable that the teaching them the use of the bow and arrows could not be omitted.

He saith that Cluverius in his *Germania Antiqua* [4] gives us an account of the Britons' [5] bows and arrows being of an extraordinary size.

He observes to me that the Marshall of England had the deliverance of the ships, *i.e.*, to assign every man to his ship when the King

[1] See note on p. 281 above.

[2] Regino, Benedictine Abbot of Prum (*d.* 915), was the compiler of a chronicle which appeared among *Scriptores de Rebus Germanicis* published by John Pistorius, 1607.

[3] MS. ' Brittans.'

[4] Philip Cluverius (1580–1623), a celebrated geographer, published in 1616 *Germaniae Antiquae libri tres.*

[5] MS. ' Brittans.'

passed the sea. *Vide* Pat. 26 Henry 3, m. 2,[1] and the claims made at the Coronation of King Henry 5. *Vide* Cotton's Marshall's Book, p. 125 et 153.[2]

He gives me also this quotation, viz. Praefecti Classis Rich. 1, cum in Terram Sanctam profectus est, Constabularii Navigii sui, apud Hovedenum nuncupantur, Anno 1190, p. 666.[3]

Enquire the success of Sir William Boreman's Naval Foundation.[4]

Recover from Sir A[nthony] D[eane] or otherwise the history of the small vessel called, I think, the Experiment, built by Sir Robert Murray, et c[eteri] virtuosi at the King's charge about anno 1660,[5]

[1] See *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1232–47 (26 Henry III, membrane 2, May 7, 1242).

[2] A paper on 'The Antiquity and Office of Earl Marshall of England' is among the tracts by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, the famous antiquary, printed in Thomas Hearne's *Collection of Curious Discourses written by Eminent Antiquaries*, 1720 (enlarged edition, 1771).

[3] Vol. iii. p. 36, in the Rolls Series of Hoveden's *Chronica*, refers to the appointment, in June 1190, of '*ductores et constabularios totius navigii sui.*'

[4] A letter from Pepys, dated October 10, 1685, referring to Sir William Boreman's 'new Mathematical School at Greenwich, in imitation of that of the King's at Christ's Hospital,' is printed in Lord Braybrooke's edition of the *Diary* (1854), iv. 232–3.

[5] 'Experiment' was the name given by Sir William Petty to the vessels which he constructed on the novel principle of the double-bottom. He first communicated the idea to the Royal Society in November 1662, and a committee was appointed to watch the proceedings. The first ship, built in Ireland in 1663, was regarded as a success, and this led to the building of the second 'Experiment,' launched at Rotherhithe on December 22, 1664, the King himself being present (*Diary*; see also February 13, 1665). A third 'Experiment' was under trial in Dublin harbour in December 1684. In addition to these, a ship of this name, built at Greenwich by Joseph Lawrence in 1677, appears in Pepys's *Register of Ships*, and this was the one that was given to Sir Thomas Allin (in 1680). The text appears to refer to a still earlier venture, not necessarily on

and whether not at length given away to Sir T[homas] Allen.[1]

February 27, 1692–3. Collect from Mr. Mann and Mr. Hunter [2] what they, discoursing [3] this day at my table, observed touching the few shot which some of our great ships had to shew in their sides after this last fight when they were sent in for them, compared with what they have known the like ships receive in former battles, and been presently [4] at sea again when they have come into port at the end of the battle to be refitted.

Q[uaere] more of this kind from Sir A. Deane, and all to shew how imperfect judges we of this nation generally are of anything relating to the sea, our Parliament and people not knowing how to prevent their being imposed upon to own this last action [5] as a great service, from their ships being said to have been so disabled by it as to be brought into a condition of not being able to keep the sea.

Remember also on this head of the imperfectness of our judgings in sea-matters, the irreconcilable difference between the resolutions of our 2 Houses of Parliament upon this very action,—the Lords in favour of my Lord Nottingham and the Commons of Mr. Russell,[6]—and their thinking it of so little moment to have the knowledge of the very truth therein, as to let their opposite

Petty's principle, possibly the 'Experiment' mentioned in the *Diary* for March 24, 1662, as about 'to carry things to the Madeiras with the East Indy fleet.'

Sir Robert Moray was one of the founders of the Royal Society and its President before the charter was granted.

[1] See note on p. 258 above.

[2] Probably the Samuel Hunter of the Trinity House referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence* (see index).

[3] MS. 'discoursed.'

[4] *I.e.* immediately.

[5] La Hogue.

[6] See note on p. 217 above.

resolutions remain upon record unaccommodated, and the matter wholly undecided between them; but with this consequence, that Mr. Russell is laid aside, and 3 captains, viz. Killigrew, Delaval and Shovell, put into joint commission in his stead for the service of the year 1693, to the declared satisfaction of the Lord Nottingham and his friends and discontent of the other.[1]

A note of Mr. Evelyn's, viz.:

> King Edgar gave lands to the Cathedral Church of Worcester, wherein he was styled *Thalassarcha*, from which grant (or title) our kings claim the Sovereignty of the Seas; it was about the bigness of a sheet of paper, very legible, in a Roman character, nor much degenerated. This was in the possession of Captain Silas Taylor[2] at Harwich, whose goods (after his death) being sold, both that and several other MSS. are lost and embezzled.

Another from Mr. Evelyn, viz. For the ancient names of ships, *vide* Nonnius, Festus, Agellius lib. x. c. 25, describing the form of the ancient ships, and especially Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus.[3]

[1] See note on p. 337 below.

[2] Captain Silas Taylor was storekeeper at Harwich dockyard until his death in 1678. He was a notable antiquary, who wrote a *History of Gavelkind* (1663) and left valuable collections and manuscripts which were seized by his creditors when he died. He also wrote a play and an anthem, but the Duke of York said that he was 'a better storekeeper than anthem-maker, and that was bad enough too' (*Diary*, June 29, 1668).

[3] Marcellus Nonnius, a grammarian of the fourth century, wrote a treatise *De Proprietate Sermonis*, which contains fragments of earlier writers; it was printed *c.* 1470. Pompeius Festus, another grammarian of the fourth century, wrote *De Priscorum Verborum Significationibus*, printed *c.* 1471. Agelius Grammaticus published his *De Differentiis Vocabulorum* in 1577; and Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479–1552), an Italian critic, published his *De Re Nautica* in 1540.

MR. HEWER'S ACCOUNT OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE ADMIRALTY FROM KING CHARLES THE 2D'S RESTORATION, 1660, TO KING JAMES THE 2D'S WITHDRAWING, DEC. 1688, viz.:

Persons' Names.	Commencement.	Ending.	By whom the High Admiralship was executed.
Sir Wm. Coventry Matt. Wren Sir John Werden	June 1660 Michaelmas 1667 Midsummer 1672	Michaelmas 1667 Midsummer 1672 May, 1673	His Royal Highness the Duke of York, who surrendered his Commission May 1673.
Samuel Pepys, Esq.	May 1673	Do. 1679	King Charles 2d with a Commission of Lords.
Thomas Hayter, Esq. John Brisband	Do. 1679 February 1679 [–80]	February 1679 [–80] May 1684	Commission, with the King.
Samuel Pepys, Esq.	May 1684	December 1688	King Charles the 2d to February 1684[–5], when he died, and then King James to December 1688.
Do. till the coming up of Russell and Herbert, and then relinquished	December 1688	February 1688 [–9]	Prince of Orange.
Phineas Bowles	March 1688–9		Commission from King William and Queen Mary.

Consider the misfortune that our discoveries can be of no use to the public because there are no hands but our own to improve them by practice, and the introducing of methods more thrifty and provident of the money and stores of the Crown than those which ignorance or unfaithfulness have introduced or time allowed. Nor must the service be too easily exposed to the inconveniences incident to too scanty provisions. And dangerous also they may be to them that advise them. Which I take to be a consideration of moment in the case of the present Commissioners of Accounts, as to the use whereto the many profitable notes industriously inserted by Sir A[nthony] D[eane] and Mr. Hewers in their late Report to them [1] were convertible.

We came by our knowledge of frigates as

[1] See note on p. 264 above.

Polybius tells us the Romans did by the Carthaginian galleys stranded and by them taken.

Pericles in his speech in Thucydides utters several important sayings touching the nature and difficulty of the science of Navigation.

Many excellent things about the state of our Navy are to be met with in Dr. Dee's discourse of the Sovereignty of our Seas about 1576.[1]

Consider the House of Commons unvoting the Committee's advice for having persons of experience employed in the Admiralty, January 11, 1692–3.[2]

Recollect Mr. Winn Houblon's[3] discourse to me of my Lord Falkland's[4] speech about that time in the House of the no-necessity of experience in an Admiral.[5]

Sir Robert Southwell[6] tells me of Mr. Halley's[7] purpose of writing something for the shewing,

[1] Dr. John Dee, the mathematician and astrologer, was the first English writer to claim for England the sovereignty of the sea and fisheries, in his *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*, published in 1577 (T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 99–105).

[2] See p. 218 above. A note in the *History and Proceedings of the House of Commons* (ii. 411) offers the following explanation of the motion passed in Committee and afterwards amended out of recognition by the House:—'This motion was principally occasioned by the following fact: one of the Lords of the Admiralty being applied to by some Barbadoes merchants for convoy, pressing him to provide it for them, he answered, they needed not to have given themselves that trouble, for the Virginia convoy would be ordered to take care of their ships.'

[3] Wynne Houblon was Sir James Houblon's eldest son.

[4] See note on p. 264 above.

[5] There is a brief account of this debate, assigned to January 10, 1692–3, in Grey's *Debates* (x. 294), but this statement does not occur in the report of Lord Falkland's speech.

[6] See note on p. 156 above.

[7] On Edmund Halley the astronomer, see *D.N.B.* xxiv. 104.

more particularly than has been, the sea-position of England, with respect to its advantages and disadvantages.

Consider how little proportion our sea-representers in Parliament bear to those of the land in a maritime nation.

Mr. Atkins [1] tells me (in reference to Winn Houblon's note just before) that it is so far true as that the Lord Falkland did assert its not being necessary that every one of the Admiralty Commission should singly know, and be able to judge and perform, every part of an Admiral's duty. Adding that some persons did at the same time say in favour of my Lord Falkland that he had been in the Navy 10 years in several capacities, and so could not but have experience therein. Little knowing (God wot) his Lordship's own apology to the Commissioners of Accounts for his not knowing, and therefore praying them to excuse his being made accountable for any part of the duty of an Officer in the Navy but what was then his own as Treasurer. And we know how little knowing he is in that also.

Reflect upon the absurdity of the House's fore-mentioned disagreement with the Committee of the whole House about their advice touching the Admiralty, and of the relation which the House's own 2 votes have one to another.[2]

And herein also is to be noted that, at the time of the House's so unvoting their Committee's advice, none are said to have spoke so boldly against the present Admiralty Commission as

[1] Mr. Atkins, a Commissioner of the Navy, is several times referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence* (see index).

[2] See p. 218 above.

Captain Churchill[1] and Captain Greenvill,[2] who of all the commanders of the Fleet seem least furnished for so doing, though the thing in itself be most reasonable.

Recollect any particulars tending to the discovery of the imperfectness of our Civil Law in the methods and powers of it towards our navigation.

Caesar or Solinus[3] observes the Britons[4] to have been small eaters of fish. And so fishery must have been in no great use among them. What then must the bones of those fishes be, either as to number or size, that Mr. Selden out of them makes so much noise about towards the evidencing of mighty doings at sea.

How comes the herring to be called the king of fishes? And is [it] termed so anywhere else but here?

What nations, countries, or cities bear a ship or any other naval or maritime matter for their charge in their arms?

The history of the *Quatuor maria vendico.*[5]

[1] George Churchill was the younger brother of the great Duke of Marlborough. He had commanded at sea but with little opportunity of active service, and in 1693 he retired from the navy. In 1701 he was appointed an Admiralty Commissioner, and in 1702 he became a member of the Admiralty Council appointed to advise Prince George of Denmark, who then became Lord High Admiral.

[2] John Granville, second son of the Earl of Bath. He had commanded the Lennox at the battle off Beachy Head in 1690, but was soon after dismissed. In 1703 he was created Baron Granville of Potheridge in the county of Devon.

[3] Caius Julius Solinus, a Latin grammarian of the third century.

[4] MS. 'Brittans.'

[5] See p. 213 above.

France had money stamped with a ship long before us. Vide *L'Histoire des Monoyes*,[1] etc., page 108.

Read some discourse upon our law touching bastardy, for the sake of the 4 seas made a considerable circumstance therein.

Observe upon my Lord Cornwallis's laying down his commission in the Admiralty [2] (with what they also say of Sir Richard Onslow's) that comparing his procedure therein with that of the Lord Pembroke's before him,[3] the most likely men by their learning and mathematics for understanding the business of the Navy, and what they may hope to obtain of knowledge therein, are the persons of the whole number of that Commission who choose of their own accord to lay it down. The same justified by Mr. Sacheverell's,[4] the Lord Carbery's,[5] and others their like proceeding.

Q[*uaere*]. Can a native-born subject be by law any ways discharged of his allegiance to his King and country? or naturalised therefrom?

[1] François le Blanc, *Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*, 1692.

[2] Charles, third Baron Cornwallis of Eye, was an Admiralty Commissioner from March 10, 1692, to April 15, 1693.

[3] Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was first Admiralty Commissioner from January 20, 1690, until March 10, 1692. Sir Richard Onslow was appointed an Admiralty Commissioner on January 23, 1691, and held office until April 15, 1693. The former was a man of learning, a mathematician, and a collector of statues and coins.

[4] See note on p. 284 above.

[5] John Vaughan, third Earl of Carbery, was an Admiralty Commissioner 1683–84, and again 1689–90. He was President of the Royal Society 1686–89, and was one of Dryden's earlier patrons.

Ditto Dr. Burnet's transferring his allegiance to the Dutch States.[1]

Remember my reply heretofore given, and so much taken notice of, to Sir Harbottle Grimston's argument in the House of Commons[2] against our building any more ships till (like wise fathers in the case of children) we could tell whether we were able to support and keep them when we had them. A reflection very apposite for the cost the kingdom has been put to for the Navy and ships since this Revolution and is at this day, October 1693.

Remember my finding in Scot's[3] own hand in France the very papers I had, out of my care to the State, beyond what was ever done before, not only of my own accord prepared and presented to the Parliament, but what he afterwards accused me of and they thereupon sent me to the Tower.

Several useful inferences may be made from the protections heretofore given by our Princes (and fines taken for them) to people for the protecting them and their estates from invasions. Such as those granted in great number by King Edward I in Prins's 3rd tome of the *Lives of King John, etc.*, page 708 and 713.[4]

The doctrine and mind of our Common Law touching our King's claim to the sea as part of his demesnes[5] is (as I think) the best expressed

[1] Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury 1689, lived at the Hague from 1686 until the Revolution, and married a Dutch wife.

[2] See note on p. 283 above.

[3] On John Scott the adventurer, see note on p. 237 above.

[4] See note on p. 282 above.

[5] MS. ' demeanes.'

in the late edition of the fore-mentioned discourse of Lane upon the Commission of Sewers.[1]

Confer with Sir James Houblon,[2] Mr. Neale, Master of the Mint,[3] etc., about the different par of our moneys compared with common commodities in different ages.

Vide Philpot's *Villare Cantian.*[4] for instances of provision made by charges upon several lands and places for finding men for the guard of the coasts.

Consider the use that may be made of the grant of King Henry 3 or Edward 1 of a yearly allowance to the King of Man [5] for keeping the coasts of England and Ireland thereabouts. *Vide* Prinn upon the 4th of the Institutes in the chapter of that Island.[6]

Confer with Mr. Gibson [7] touching the invention of the bow-line,[8] said to be late.

What will these officers of the Navy do with this great Navy, 1693, in time of peace, when as heretofore the King and his Ministers may be shortened in the supplies of money, and when also as heretofore the Navy may be made bolder

[1] Possibly Sir Richard Lane, Lord Keeper 1645.

[2] See p. 214 above.

[3] Thomas Neale, Master of the Mint 1678–99.

[4] *Villare Cantianum* is the chief work of John Philipot (*d.* 1645), Somerset Herald. It was published in 1659 under the name of Thomas Philipot, who appropriated the credit of his father's work.

[5] In 1266 the Kingdom of Man was ceded by Magnus VI of Norway to Alexander III of Scotland.

[6] William Prynne published in 1669, 'Brief Animadversions on the Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, compiled by Sir Edward Coke.'

[7] See note on p. 23 above.

[8] See p. 173 above.

with than from the apprehensions of a Parliament they may now be.

It seems very easy to shew that the victories which are the only two we magnify for such at sea, and therefore are made the comparisons one for another (and particularly I think by the present Archbishop Tillotson[1] in his Thanksgiving Sermon) of 1588 and 1692, were the results purely of accident, in exclusion of all extraordinariness either of conduct or courage.

The present Commissioners of the Admiralty being in no kind better chosen than those I have lately published an account of,[2] there seems no reason to expect better fruits from them, either from the reason of the thing, or the proofs we have yet had of their managements, 1693. *Vide* the further future effects of the same.

Note the late reason (March 1692–3) given for the House's desisting to pursue their Committee's Vote for desiring the King to remove the present Admirals,[3] viz. because they had now been 3 or 4 years in, and could not but have learnt something, and therefore must be thought better than to take in others in their room wholly new and unexperienced. Towards answering which, recollect how many, both of the former Commission and this, and those even the most pregnant of them, have chosen voluntarily to withdraw therefrom[4] and from the profits thereof, out of

[1] Dr. John Tillotson was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1691 until his death in 1694.

[2] The Commission of 1679–84, criticised by Pepys in his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* (1690).

[3] This probably refers to the vote printed on p. 218 above: see also note on p. 292.

[4] See p. 295 above.

their despair of ever mastering the business of it ; and this even after some time, a year, 2, or 3, passed therein for trial.

Camden's *Britannia*, page 444. Observe the instruments by which he saith grants and bargains of land were anciently passed. Wherein nothing appears that has any relation to the sea or shipping.

Q[uaere] the ground of Mr. Prinn's saying in the 4th Part of his *Parliament Writs*,[1] page 557, out of Domesday Book, that the whole revenue of the Cinque Ports in the Conqueror's time would not suffice to pay their Barons in Parliament a week at 10*s*. per man a day.

Q[uaere] the number of all the castles and fortresses that are or appear to have been built upon our sea-coasts ; consulting particularly herein Captain Collins and his new survey thereof.[2]

Examine also by his maps the reasonableness of the charge against Plunket in the time of the Plot about bringing the King of France's fleet and landing them at Carlingford in Ireland.[3]

Consider the Acts of Parliament passed 1692–3[4] for excusing the payments of the money due to the country upon occasion of the raising of the militia upon the invasion made by the French, though it amounted to no more, as I remember, than a boat or two going ashore somewhere about Torbay. And what the money is computed to

[1] William Prynne's *Brief Register of the several kinds of Parliamentary Writs*, published 1659–64.

[2] See note on p. 125 above. [3] See note on p. 81 above.

[4] The allusion is probably to two Acts of 1692, 3 W. & M. c. 7, and 4 W. & M. c. 6 ; but two more Acts were passed in 1694, 5 W. & M. c. 19, and 6 & 7 W. & M. c. 13.

come to, it being said to be very great. So much reason have our Bishops for providing us a Prayer of Thanksgiving to God for his making us an island.

Upon which head Sir James Houblon further notes, that the more our country as an island, and by its particular position as such, is looked upon and valued to have an advantage towards the rendering ourselves masters of trade, that does but the more tempt others to expose us to the danger of invasion, and charge of a suitable provision to be made and maintained against it.

Improve what may be said upon the diversity of our laws, and particularly that of 1692–3 for preserving of the game at land,[1] while how few and imperfect are all that I can find towards the obtaining any discipline or even securing our ordinary trade at sea.

Q[*uaere*] What and how high is a river to be called navigable in the sense of the law for the liberty of fishing mentioned in that Act of 1692–3 for preserving of the game.

How runs the law at this day about seamen and soldiers that were heretofore to be taken up as rogues when met on the highway; and further consider the folly of that great noise that was heretofore in my time made upon the use of tickets[2] in the discharging of seamen, when that is the only natural evidence of his being laudably discharged from the service, and thereby justifies a seaman in his travel homeward.

[1] 4 W. & M. c. 23 (1692).

[2] See *Diary*, October 22–30, Nov. 24, 1667. Pepys describes the House of Commons as 'mighty earnest' in the matter (October 29).

See what notes are fairly to be raised from Collins's new survey of our coasts,[1] and our Trinity House's suffering a work so properly theirs, and in itself of so much moment, to be taken out of their hands and done by a private and single one.

Loadsman Dutch for leadsman.

Observable to the great reproach of our Church (as I think) that there is no provision made, by prebendaries, sinecures,[2] or others, for the encouragement of worthy men to serve in the Navy or our Plantations.

Somner in his discourse of Roman forts,[3] page 76, shews us that the Romans did not put their trust in their sea-force, but built fortresses upon the sea-coast for their security against incursions from the barbarians.

In the same book, page 95, our English sea is by Ninius [4] styled *Mare Gallicum.*

Dr. Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicae* [5] to be perused.

Observe that the word *Dominium Maris* does not, by all my extracts, appear in any one of our old English Latin historians. *Q.* Mr. Cramer.

[1] See note on p. 324 below. [2] MS. ' sine cures.'

[3] *A Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent,* by William Somner (1598–1669), the Anglo-Saxon scholar, published in 1693.

[4] Nennius (*fl.* 796), the compiler of the *Historia Britonum,* first printed in 1691 by Pepys's friend Dr. Thomas Gale (see note on p. 177 above) in his *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae Scriptores XV.*

[5] Published in 1685, when Stillingfleet was Dean of St. Paul's. He was afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

And *Q.* also thereon the mighty title given King Edgar relating to his power at sea.[1]

Dr. Gale [2] tells me out of Bede that the Saxons beginning to trouble this land, and the Britons [3] thereupon being driven to seek help from Rome, they were at last left wholly by the Romans after they had first built several *castra* upon the sea-coast for their defence. Which was all the Romans could then do for them against their enemies the Scots and Picts. And so the Britons [3] were forced to send to the Saxons for help, and had it, and were soon after conquered by them.

Q[*uaere*] of Mr. Fraser [4] or others the particulars which Buchanan [5] saith were wrote about the great ships built by King James the 4th of Scotland.

Mind also Buchanan's account and extracts of the ancient state of Britain out of Caesar, etc.

Remember in an especial manner that the castles or *turres* built by the Romans upon the sea-coast or *Littus Saxonicum,* and which Bede saith they left the Britons [3] for their guard against

[1] 'Ego Edgardus Anglorum Basileus omniumque Regum insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis cunctarumque nationum quae infra eam includuntur Imperator et Dominus.' The words occur in a charter of 964 granting large revenues to the Cathedral Church at Worcester, and are quoted by earlier writers to shew the antiquity of English rights over the sea; but the authenticity of the preamble of this charter is doubtful. On the whole question see T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea,* pp. 27–8.

[2] See note on p. 177 above.

[3] MS. 'Brittans.'

[4] Possibly the James Fraser appointed on March 19, 1689, deputy to the Earl of Shrewsbury for licensing books and papers (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1689–90, p. 30).

[5] George Buchanan (1506–82), author of *Rerum Scoticarum Historia,* published in 1582.

the irruptions of their enemies from the sea, were raised upon the very coasts where their ships then lay, and so were guards to their ships and not their ships to them. Which I have, as I take it, out of Somner's forementioned discourse.[1]

And observe also upon this head, whether the same has not even been the case of the Cinque Ports, and perhaps the rise thereof too in the same places. And whether, when their ships grew bigger and consequently more considerable in force, they were not from thence called by a proper metaphor *floating castles*, as they familiarly are by our modern historians. *Q.* when that phrase appears to have been taken up first.

Call also upon Dr. Gale [2] and Dr. Plott [3] (who I think have both said they could give it me) for a list of all the castles, modern and ancient, upon the coasts round England, and the provision made for their being guarded by the neighbouring countries,[4] and what proportion they bear to the other fortresses within the land, besides those erected for the guard of our northern and western marches.

The meanest seaman or country parson upon the sea-coast of England wonders at the folly of our Bishops in the Public Prayer they have provided of late, 1692, during a sea war, for giving thanks for the security God Almighty has provided for us in making us an island.[5]

[1] See p. 301 above.
[2] See note on p. 177 above.
[3] See note on p. 281 above.
[4] In the sense of counties, a common use of the 16th and 17th centuries.
[5] See also p. 300 above.

Consider the MSS. project which I have by me,[1] dedicated to the Lord Burleigh in the time of Queen Elizabeth, for the withstanding an enemy's landing then apprehended, abundantly shewing how little our ancestors thought the sea our security.

The like of an order which I remember went from that Queen to the Lord Russell[2] (as I take it) for calling the militia together in the north for guarding of the coast.

Recollect what I have learnt from Mr. Moxon,[3] and from Maunsel's[4] old Catalogue of Books, touching the history of our having any globes, maps, or charts in England.

We have many times had foreigners for our commanders and pilots in the highest places heretofore, but we never were sought after by other nations for sea-commanders, saving what this King of Sweden's father[5] did in the infancy of his pretensions to a navy. And for our shipwrights, I have observed did not think them worth tempting them to stay there when he had them.[6]

Note that where I find *Constabularii Navium* (which I think is in Hoveden,[7] upon the voyage

[1] 'A Project of a form by an Order of Intrenchment for defence against a landing of any army . . .': No. 2021 in the Pepysian Library. It is 'directed' to Lord Burghley.

[2] Probably Sir William Russell, Governor of Flushing 1587–8, and Lord Deputy of Ireland 1594–7. He was created Baron Russell of Thornhaugh by James I in 1603.

[3] Joseph Moxon (1627–1700) the globe-seller, hydrographer to Charles II, is several times referred to in the *Diary*.

[4] The Catalogue of English Printed Books, issued in 1595 by Andrew Maunsell (*d.* 1595), bibliographer and publisher.

[5] Charles X of Sweden died in 1660. His son, Charles XI, reigned until 1697. Sir George Ayscue was in the service of the former from 1658 until the Restoration.

[6] See the note on Francis Sheldon on p. 245 above.

[7] See note on p. 288 above.

of Richard I to the Holy Land) use is thereabouts also made to the same effect of the word *Justiciarii*.[1]

Q[*uaere*] of some of our merchants or masters the longest voyages that are now-a-days known to be made by the least vessels?

Oppose to Mr. Selden's magnifying the seamanship of our ancestors the Saxons from their measuring of time by the tides, not only the posts ordained by Parliament to be fixed round the coast of England, but Mr. Flamstead's modern tables of our tides,[2] much correcting our former methods of casting the same.

Will Dr. Browne's whole magazine of Vulgar Errors [3] afford a parallel to that of our pretended Sea Dominion?

Bagford [4] tells me that all our first maps and sea-charts, as well the former of Saxton's and Speed's [5] as the latter of Ashley's translation and pretended improvement of Waggener's,[6] were graved in Holland.

[1] 'Praeterea idem rex praecepit . . . ut omnes homines sui qui per mare essent ituri obedirent dictis et praeceptis praedictorum justitiarorum navigii sui' (*Chronica*, iii. 36).

[2] In 1674 John Flamsteed the astronomer compiled a table of the tides for the use of Charles II. In 1675 he was appointed the first Astronomer Royal.

[3] Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors* was published in 1646. He was knighted in 1671.

[4] John Bagford (1650–1716), a London shoemaker who was a professional collector of books. He is several times referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence*.

[5] Christopher Saxton's maps of England and Wales were issued in 1579; and in 1610 John Speed published an augmented edition of them.

[6] Anthony Ashley (1551–1627), clerk to the Privy Council, was entrusted by the Council with the task of translating the first known collection of sea charts for sailors, which had been published at Leyden in 1584 by Lucas Janssen Waghenaer. The English title of his work, published in 1588, was *The Mariner's Mirrour* . . . He was knighted in 1596.

Enquire for any historical hints of our navy-matters from Mr. Awbrey.[1] To be afterwards improved by myself.

Read the Testament of Cardinal Richelieu,[2] Ch. 9, sect. 5 and 6, about the then state of the French Navy.

The like of Brantome's 2d vol. 'Des Capitaines étrangers.'[3] Where (in the life of Andrea Doria[4]) he tells Charles the 9th that there was but 15 galleys in all France. Monsieur De Galliniere's[5] note.

How comes it to pass that being as we pretend always Lords of the Sea, and for the most part at war with Scotland, we have not been able to keep[6] them from being anything at sea, or having their ports open to receive the French our enemies, or being able to come to offend us by sea in our own ports? *Vide Invasio* in my Parliament Rolls,[7] 7 Richard 2, p. 35, line 4.

Memorandum the old print which I have of anno 1553,[8] of the Dutch busses fishing on our coasts.

[1] John Aubrey (1626–1697) was a great collector of antiquarian and historical material, some of which was used by Anthony Wood for his *Athenae Oxonienses*.

[2] The *Testament Politique* of Cardinal Richelieu was published at Amsterdam in 1688. It contains a reference to the size of the fleets maintained by Louis XIV.

[3] The *Memoirs* of Pierre de Bourdeilles, Seigneur de Brantôme (*c.* 1540–1614), first appeared in 1665–66.

[4] See note on p. 98 above.

[5] Monsieur P. P. Dégalénière was a French refugee minister who was reordained in England and provided with an Irish living through the good offices of Pepys. He appears frequently in the *Private Correspondence*.

[6] MS. 'keep to.'

[7] A number of extracts from the Parliament Rolls are among the MS. volumes in the Pepysian Library.

[8] In Pepys's 'Prints General,' ii. 313 [No. 2985 in the Pepysian Library].

May 27, 1557 [1567]. Letter of this date in the *Cabala*[1] from Sir William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris,[2] then our Ambassador in France, taking notice and commanding him to do the like to that King of his preparing 8 ships for the sea, and to oppose it. Referring him to what further notice our Queen in Council will take of it to him. *Q.* the Council-Book.[3]

Ditto of the mark generally used under the name of the Broad Arrow[4] upon all goods recovered of the King's or forfeited to him as at the Custom House, or bought for his use in the Navy; it being said also (examine the truth of it) that it is by the Act of Parliament for Tonnage and Poundage expressly established for that use upon goods forfeited.

Note that my Lord Danby[5] is said to have a flag extraordinary assigned him while in the main fleet, 1693. *Q.* whether so, and what, and what flag Rook had with the Turkey Fleet, and what when with the great Fleet, July 1693?

It is said that the Admiralty have a general order for issuing theirs to the admirals at sea, 1693, to follow whatever instructions they should

[1] See note on p. 151 above. The letter is printed on p. 127 of the edition of 1691 with the date correctly given as 1567.

[2] Sir Henry Norris, afterwards first Baron Norris of Ryecote, was Ambassador in France from 1566 to 1570.

[3] There seems to be nothing in the printed *Acts of the Privy Council* relating to this.

[4] The origin of the broad arrow is very obscure, although there is an instance of its use as early as 1386 (*Mariner's Mirror*, vii. 188). It appears first in an Act of Parliament in 1698, and then not in an Act for Tonnage and Poundage, but in a clause of 9 Will. III, c. 41, which provides for marking the King's stores.

[5] See note on p. 286 above.

receive from the King or Queen signified by a Secretary of State.

Dr. Plott[1] confirms my opinion that the Britons[2] had no shipping, nor probably any boats, by observing that they are always noted to pass over the rivers by fording. *Q.* instances; and further it seems that for want of boats they did artificially make rivers fordable, where at this day 'twould be thought to have been impossible for them ever to have been so. And this he saith they in particular did at Rochester, and over the Thames very low; referring me as I think to Strabo for the latter.

Memorandum, for saving labour when I may have occasion of saying anything concerning Dunkirk, that the history thereof and its change of masters[3] is shortly and well set down in the first of a certain weekly paper printed July 13th 1693 of fortified places under the name of the *Gentleman's Journal.*[4]

Dr. Gale[5] observes to me that Diodorus Siculus does somewhere speak of the Britons[2] bringing their tin from the West on horseback to Portsmouth to be loaden there upon strangers[6]; and this supposed to be before Caesar's time.

It is the ignorance of our great men on shore that betrays them to the protecting our rake-hells at sea. As that which they would not do did they know the consequences thereof.

[1] See note on p. 281 above. [2] MS. 'Brittans.'

[3] Dunkirk was surrendered to France in 1662.

[4] The *Gentleman's Journal* of 1692 and 1693, edited by Peter Anthony Motteux, the translator of Rabelais, has been described as 'the first germ of the magazine.'

[5] See note on p. 177 above.

[6] *I.e.* foreign vessels.

To regulate and reform the Navy seems a work at this day little less than that ascribed to Hercules in his cleansing the Augean [1] stables.

It were good to search after the true history of fact for that year wherein we pretend to have checked the King of France in his setting-out of the 8 ships mentioned a little before ; [2] to see whether any, and what ships, France did really set-out that year.

Apply to Dr. Walwood,[3] who has presumed to assert so far and scandalously the bad state of the English Navy under the late Kings,[4] the enquiry directed to him in the monthly print of De la Crose [5] for June 1693 touching what became of the product of a certain woman's eating 3 years together without once going to stool.

Improve the account given us in *Arnoldus Londinensis* [6] of the smallness of the Crown of England's revenue in the time of King Henry 6, by considering what the navy thereof could then be.

What use can it be of, or how can a Secretary of State be thought capable of having any good sea-intelligence, that knows not what questions

[1] MS. 'Ægean.' [2] See p. 307 above.

[3] James Wellwood, physician to William and Mary, had published in 1689 his *Vindication of the Revolution in England* and *An Answer to the late King James's Last Declaration.* His views were strongly Whig.

[4] *I.e.* Charles II and James II.

[5] The periodical known as the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique* (1686–93) was begun by Jean Leclerc and continued with the assistance of J. de la Crose.

[6] Richard Arnold (*d. c.* 1521), an antiquary and chronicler, compiled a common-place book dealing with London antiquities which was first published in 1502.

to ask thereabouts, or how to judge of what answers he shall receive thereto ?

Reflect also upon the slight choice of our Secretaries at Sea, whose knowledge and practice in the methods of the Navy can only qualify them for their places by enabling them to draw proper instructions and orders, and the persons to whom they are properly to be directed. Get a list of them for my time to be discoursed on with Mr. Hewer [1] and Mr. Gibson.[2]

Q[*uaere*] Sir W. Raleigh's authority for reckoning their use of bows and arrows (which the English he saith were then wholly ignorant of) as one of the reasons of the easiness wherewith the Normans conquered us.[3]

As a farther proof of the same, besides that of Caesar's saying nothing of their having any bows and arrows, that of their beautifying their swords with fishes' bones may be reflected on, which should rather have been applied to those other weapons (as the Greenlanders do to this day their weapons and oars), had they had any.

And by the way, if Mr. Selden will have the adorning of their swords with fishbones a mark of the Britons' [4] seamanship, what seamen must the Greenlanders be ?

But on the contrary, besides the difficulty of

[1] The best account of William Hewer, Pepys's former clerk and devoted follower, is that recently contributed by Dr. Philip Norman to the *Pepys Club Occasional Papers*, 1917–23.

[2] See note on p. 23 above.

[3] ' The Normans had a peculiar militia or fight with bows and arrows, wherein they were excellently practised ; and the English, unacquainted with that weapon, were altogether unprovided for the defence ' (' A Breviary of the History of England ' : *Works*, viii. 520).

[4] MS. ' Brittans.'

shewing what fish and what bones those must be that could be made use of out of our seas for making handles for swords, it seems plain that the rarity of them, so as to be made use of only by people of the better sort, implies the Britons [1] not being much used to the fishing-trade, nor consequently to the boats necessary thereto.

One would have thought that had our Princes valued themselves so much in all ages upon their sea-doings and sea-power, they would have taken their public brand, especially that which was to serve them in sea-matters (as is just now observed) [2] from something relating to that element rather than from an arrow-head. A consideration that would easily have inclined me, from the common figure of it, to have drawn it to the signifying (though rudely) an anchor rather than an arrow-head, were it not that our very laws, as I lately herein noted,[2] have determined it for the latter.

July 1693. *Q.* the truth of what I am now told as of a certainty by a North Country lady, Mrs. Lea, that some colliers of Newcastle having for want of public convoy agreed with some privateers to see them safe hither, they have been cited before our Admiralty Commissioners and perstringed [3] for their so doing.

Q[*uaere*] Mr. Halley's [4] having his vessel taken from him by a privateer as he was at work in diving upon a wrack somewhere upon the coast.

Ditto the truth of what I suddenly offered lately in discourse to Mr. Colson,[5] viz. whether

[1] MS. 'Brittans.' [2] See p. 307.
[3] To 'perstringe' is to censure or criticise adversely.
[4] See note on p. 292 above. [5] See note on p. 401 below.

the science which we so much aim at, and some of us pretend to, in Naval Architecture, do or can amount to more than to direct us to such a body as shall best answer the uses first proposed and circumstanced, so as to sail and work best, and this to be obtained in one only posture; there being no one shape equally good or bad in every posture or trim. The accidental changes in ships as to their sailing better or worse upon very slight occasions, shewing how little effect we receive from the art originally employed in her built,[1] viz. as to the constant good sailing of a ship, and that, to speak the most in fewest words, all seems to lie in this small room, viz. *the greatest length joined with the least breadth in such manner as may best consist with the answering of all the uses desired.*[2]

Improve the consideration that herrings won't go down at this day with our seamen, however I find that they have in former ages done; but that the victuallers are now fain to serve them with foreign fish, and with a condition to supply what thereof they shall want with oatmeal, flour, fruit, etc., while at the same time not only foreigners in remoter nations on shore, but our neighbours the Dutch even at sea, serve themselves therewith caught upon our own coasts.

Examine and observe Sir William Petty's plain mistakes about the sea and shipping in his *Political Arithmetic.*[3] So credulous and undertaking[4] he, and so hard is the business of the

[1] See note on p. 18 above. [2] *Cf.* p. 201 above.
[3] See note on p. 212 above.
[4] 'Undertaking' here = enterprising. The reference may be to the boldness of Petty's speculations.

sea to be at once thoroughly and rightly comprehended.

The proceedings of the Lord Nottingham [1] seem in this worthy consideration ; as one under whom the Navy (as I have publicly shewn [2]) has been once undone, that he has had little less than the entire direction of it as Secretary of State from the beginning of this Revolution to the present 1693, and therein seen the navigation of England, I mean the commercial part of it, also little less than undone too, and now has divested himself entirely of it and, as he thinks, will escape any future accounting for that which is past by leaving it for the time to come to the management of Mr. Secretary Trenchard.[3]

Doth not the Admiral of England's having the silver oar carried before him when sitting in judicature as the ensign of his office imply that rowing was the greatest part of our sea-labour, and carried in it the greatest share of its dignity when that office was first erected, and has so held the honour of it to this day ? [4]

Something is said (whether houses or what else I know not) to be yet extant at Southampton as a mark of the Venetians' great trade and residence there.

[1] Daniel Finch, a member of the Admiralty Commission of 1679–84 which Pepys criticised so severely, succeeded to the Earldom of Nottingham in 1682. In 1688 he was made a Secretary of State with charge of the department of war, and retained office until 1693.

[2] In his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* (1690).

[3] Sir John Trenchard had been appointed Secretary of State for the northern department in 1692.

[4] *Cf.* p. 136 above. This is not a rowing but a steering oar, a common emblem of authority in ancient times.

Look over Bishop Burnet's deduction of the history of the foreign trade of England in his *Reformation*, part 2d, page 207.[1]

The best present instance that appears to me to shew our difficulty in keeping or giving up our pretence to the Dominion of the Sea, is that of the keeping or giving up Bullen to the French about 1550 under King Edward 6,[2] taking in the whole history of that question at that time. *Vide ibid.* page 146.

Q[*uaere*] the history of the fortune and family of Sir William Mounson,[3] past and present.

To shew the grossness of all that we are yet come to in the art of Navigation, it were good to gather some of the many instances of our mistakes therein within our memory. Such as Narbrough's [4] going with a fleet within the Islands of Scilly, between them and the main; Gunman (I think) his carrying the D[uke of] Y[ork] with his fleet through the Middle Ground,[5] and is called therefrom the Middle Middle; our mistakes in our way to Tangier [6] with my Lord Dartmouth. And this properly to be looked upon as the ground

[1] The first volume of Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation in England* appeared in 1679 and the second in 1681; the third was not published until 1714. The author became Bishop of Salisbury in 1689.

[2] By the Peace of 1550 Boulogne was restored to France for 400,000 crowns.

[3] On Sir William Monson, see *D.N.B.*, xxxviii. 199.

[4] On Sir John Narbrough, see *D.N.B.*, xl. 89.

[5] On the Duke's unfortunate voyage to Edinburgh in 1682, when the Gloucester was wrecked, see note on p. 131 above, and Evelyn's *Diary*, March 26, 1685. The Middle Ground is in the Swin, above the Gunfleet.

[6] In 1683 Pepys sailed as Lord Dartmouth's Secretary when he went with a fleet to superintend the evacuation of Tangier.

of our Mathematical Foundation [1] for the carrying the science of Navigation beyond what our best mere tarpaulins, as they are now qualified, are ever likely to do.

The like seems fit to be thought of with respect to gunnery, which we have heretofore led all the world (however we have since lost it) to think us the only masters of, and every Englishman of course a gunner; so as constantly to employ him as such.

And here let me remember the mistakes I was myself a witness of with my Lords Dartmouth,[2] Rochester,[3] etc., at a public proof and practice at Woolwich. Where the Master Gunner of England [4] could not hit the butt; whereto Mr. Colston [5] adds in discourse a worse instance himself was a witness of, of the same kind and at the same place.

Remember to take from Mr. Hatton's [6] mouth the story he tells from his father of Sir William Mounson's giving an account in Parliament how he was sent by the Queen to France to forbid the building of a great ship.

Make use of these 3 instances to shew the danger of taking too easily upon us to pronounce peremptorily that anything shall or shall not come to pass, viz.—Sir William Temple's declaring

[1] On August 19, 1673, Charles II had established by letters patent a Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital for training boys for the sea.

[2] See note on p. 273 above.

[3] Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, the younger son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

[4] Richard Leake (1629–1696). He was appointed Master Gunner May 21, 1677.

[5] See note on p. 401 below.

[6] Perhaps Pepys's friend the 'incomparable' Charles Hatton, younger son of the first Lord Hatton.

some years ago Holland's being then ruined, and the occasions of it ;[1] Dr. Lloyd's predicting the fall of the Pope to me in particular with Mr. Evelyn ;[2] and Sir William Petty's ill success in his last double-bottomed vessel,[3] and in his *Political Arithmetic* wherein he pronounceth that France could never come to equal us at sea.[4]

It seems worthy considering that instead of the mighty business heretofore made of an imaginary discovering our coasts to the French, they have in the year 1691, when they were in an actual war at sea with the Dutch and us in conjunction, published their *Neptune François*,[5] containing that most august set of sea-charts, and particularly that most accurate one of their own coasts, made by special survey and incomparably beyond anything before extant. Notwithstanding which, Mr. Russell could not follow with any of our ships those greater ones of theirs

[1] Sir William Temple's *Observations upon . . . the Netherlands* was published in 1672.

[2] This probably refers to the interview which Pepys and Evelyn had on August 15, 1690, with Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, at which he expounded to them his views on prophecy (see Evelyn's *Diary* and Pepys's *Private Correspondence*, i. 33).

[3] Sir William Petty's last experiment with a double-bottom vessel was much less successful than the first. The trial took place on December 23, 1684, ' but she performed so abominably as if built on purpose to disappoint in the highest degree every particular that was expected of her ' (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of Sir William Petty*, p. 256).

[4] This is the argument of chapter iii. of Petty's *Political Arithmetic*, published in 1691, which is entitled, ' That France cannot, by reason of natural and perpetual impediments, be more powerful at sea than the English and Hollanders now are or may be.'

[5] A French book of charts : its publication is usually assigned to 1693, but Pepys's copy [No. 2999 in the Pepysian Library] is dated 1691.

that fled before them into St. Malo's.[1] And as to 1693, when the whole Navy of France were abroad under Monsieur Tourville in the ocean and D'Étree in the Mediterranean,[2] and ourselves with the best fleet that ever England was mistress of, and the Holland's together with us at sea in the Channel and Bay of Biscay, and their coast left wholly open to us, we were not able or thoughtful enough to improve that advantage, with the aid even of this extraordinary light thereto, to make our promised and expected descent upon any part thereof. And this also notwithstanding their having in like manner printed within this very war the 3rd and 4th Parts of their Fortified Towns by sea as well as by land; the best, if not the first, that ever was so published, and so exquisitely performed in the graving of those their sea towns.

What appears to justify Tacitus's report of the great trade of London in Nero's time, or what proofs do we find of the Romans ever coming up or making use of the Thames in their sea-correspondence with us?

It is observable that the care of the sea has ever been so little in esteem among us that there is no provision in our Parliaments for any standing Committee for the same, as there are for several other things that cannot be thought of greater import to this nation as such. Pursue this note by enquiries into the methods of both Houses.

[1] After the battle of La Hogue.

[2] The Comte de Tourville commanded the French fleet at La Hogue, and after that defeat, nearly the whole of the naval force of France which had survived the disaster was sent under the Duc d'Estrées to the Straits.

How can King Charles 2nd be supposed an enemy to his Navy that out of his own purse enlarged the dimensions assigned by the Parliament itself to the 30 new ships,[1] by virtue whereof they became of so great consideration for the strength of England as they are now found in our war with France, 1693? To which many more considerations might, I doubt not, be added to the honour of that Prince and his brother out of the history of those ships for the extinguishing of that scandal.

Nor after the proof which we have made of the consequences of a French war, and particularly as to the strength of France by sea, in opposition to the united forces of England and Holland 1693, will it be doubted whether King Charles could have taken a shorter or surer course to destroy the Navy of England and put the Dominion of the Sea into the hands of the French King, if that had been his desire and aim, when our Parliament voted and gave money for an actual war with that kingdom, labouring by all arts, fair and foul, to drive the King into it, and would never be reconciled to him upon their imaginary belief of his being in confederacy with France for avoiding it.

What less also is to be learnt from King James's refusal to accept the French King's early offer of furnishing him with some ships for withstanding the Prince's proceedings, had he had also any like inclination to the promoting or relying upon the naval aid of any nation but his own? Which refuse of his is declared and

[1] See note on p. 13 above. On the King's action in increasing their dimensions, see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. p. xcv.

attested by the Lord Sunderland [1] himself in his Letter of Apology published since the Revolution.

Consult Sir Jos. Child [2] in his chapter of Court Merchant, against our Admiralty Court, and that about the Act of Navigation, and in other places, to shew how fallible we are in our laws relating to the sea and trade.

Examine the wills of some of our greatest seamen, ancient and modern, to discover the condition of estate they generally died in.

Make an accurate enquiry into the different performances of Collins [3] in his late survey of our coasts, and the late *Neptune François*,[4] with relation to one another, and both to the Dutch Waggener ; [5] with what of useful in any kind will arise therefrom.

August 25th, 1693. In discourse this day with Sir Ja[mes] H[oublo]n,[6] he told me that Sir John Lowther [7] of the Admiralty came lately to discourse him. When Sir J. H. observing to him between jest and earnest that we were at length come to one improvement in our conduct, namely, of being able to keep a secret, forasmuch as nobody could tell to this day whither [8] our Fleet's last orders were to carry them, whether to ply about the North Cape [9] to intercept Tour-

[1] After the Revolution, in March 1689, the Earl of Sunderland wrote from Utrecht 'A Letter to a Friend in the Country,' in which he attempted to justify himself for accepting office under James, and had it translated into Dutch.

[2] In 1665 Sir Josiah Child wrote a short essay on trade, which he afterwards expanded into *A New Discourse of Trade*. It went through several editions.

[3] See note on p. 125 above.

[4] See note on p. 316 above.

[5] See note on p. 12 above.

[6] See note on p. 270 above.

[7] See note on p. 210 above.

[8] MS. 'whether.'

[9] *I.e.* Cape Finisterre.

ville's fleet coming home, or to go to the coast of Spain to find him out and fight him. Whereto Sir J. L. replied that none could know less of it than they of the Admiralty, the orders not only for their sailing but even for their victualling going from the Cabinet. And this he delivered by ways of complaint of their being no better treated than they are in their office, but made when they are called to wait without, as the most ordinary attendants do. Which I cannot reflect on but with the last degree of indignation, when I consider not only the political absurdity of having so great a trust committed to people whose ignorance or unfaithfulness are by this usage asserted by the State itself that employs them, but the abjectness of these gentlemen's spirits in continuing to bear it without flinging-up their commissions, and little regard to what men of honour and honesty one would think should do, while they shew themselves contented to sit and take the wages of the office without being thought worthy of being trusted with the execution of any, or at least any of the weightier parts of it.

Recollect the preface of the Act of the 17th of Charles the 2d, chap. 9, wherein a present is made to the D[uke of] Y[ork] for his services at sea.[1]

Make use of the copy given me by Mr. Cox of the last report of the Trinity House in the long depending case of the Shipwrights' charter[2] in

[1] In 1665 Parliament, 'taking notice of that heroic courage' with which the Duke of York 'exposed his own person' against the Dutch fleet, granted to the King £120,902 15*s.* 8*d.*, being an additional month's assessment, as an expression of their 'humble thanks' to his Royal Highness (17 Car. II. c. 9).

[2] For the history of the Shipwrights' Companies see W. G. Perrin, *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, pp. xv.–xli.

August 1663; there lying therein many useful notes relating to the Navy.

It seems observable that in Stow's Survey there is no mention made in the list of the City Companies of that of the Shipwrights, though the old Company thereof by prescription, which has so long contended with the new, be wholly in the direction of the Lord Mayor, and is named in a later printed list of the City Companies by me inserted in the said Survey.[1] *Q.* how to reconcile this.

Apply to the ignorance of our clergy in matters of the sea, evidenced in the so ill-judging of their safety by being islanders,[2] the method of the Calvinists in France in examining their candidates for the ministry upon that chapter in the Acts which gives an account of St. Paul's shipwrack.

Q[*uaere*] how many seamen's names to be found in the printed account of the State-favourites since the Reformation in our *Herologia*,[3] or the known Lives of our Princes since Henry 7.

There appears nothing to me that better shews the shameful ignorance of our present Admiralty, 1693, than what I have lately before noted of the State's being driven to do their work for them by other hands, nor of their meanness of spirit than their being contented to hold their places and wages notwithstanding the same.[4]

[1] This printed list, dated in writing 1692, is pasted in at the back of p. 939 of Pepys's copy of Stow's *Survey of London* [No. 2476 in the Pepysian Library].

[2] See p. 303 above.

[3] See note on p. 267 above.

[4] See p. 320 above.

The word ' Navy ' should be the Englishman's *Tetragrammaton*, and to be held no less sacred with him than the other known one among the Jews.[1]

It seems to me fit to be reckoned among the greatest instances of this Government's little knowledge in its sea-affairs, that its King and Ministers could think Selden's *Mare Clausum* so much worthy of its regard as to order its being laid up in the most solemn place of record.[2] Whilst Selden himself was reported to Mr. Evelyn by Sir William Glasscock,[3] a great companion of Mr. Selden's, to have himself afterwards turn[ed] it into ridicule in his common conversation.

September 16, 1693. I am to my admiration this day told by Mr. Kynvin,[4] who is just now come back from Tunbridge,[5] that not only Captain Priestman [6] has been there, but that Southerne [7] has been so too for about 5 weeks, at such a time as this is, both for action in the Navy and censure upon its managements.

[1] A Hebrew word of four letters, vocalised as Jahveh or Jehovah, and regarded by the Jews as a mysterious symbol of the ineffable Name.

[2] By an order of the Privy Council it was directed that one copy of John Selden's *Mare Clausum* should be kept in the archives of the Council, another in the Court of Exchequer, and a third in the Court of Admiralty (*D.N.B.*, li. 218). The book was published in 1635, so the King referred to is Charles I.

[3] William Glascock, D.C L., of Wormeley, Herts, a master in Chancery, knighted May 12, 1661.

[4] Probably the Mr. Kynvin referred to in the State Papers, who lived ' over against the Cock, in Bow Lane, by Cheapside ' (*Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1677–78, p. 84 ; *cf. ib.*, 1689–90, pp. 60, 137).

[5] Tunbridge Wells was already famous as a health resort. John Evelyn drank the waters there from June 29 to July 10, 1632, and in August 1661 his wife was there for the benefit of her health (*Diary*).

[6] On Captain Preistman, see note on p. 249 above.

[7] James Sotherne was Secretary of the Admiralty 1690–94.

He tells me too that discoursing of my Lord Cutts'[1] new government in the Isle of Wight, that there is continued there to this day (he thinks at 12*d.* a day) an allowance for a company of archers, though not one archer has been known found there in the memory of man, but swallowed up entirely by the Governor; and this so avowedly that, upon some late notices taken and enquiries made concerning it, that Lord saith that rather than lose it for want of archers he would make his footmen archers.

Mr. Gibson[2] observes to me, and saith he is ready to give me instances, how certainly partial our courts-martial ever are to commanders in any matters of difference between them and their under-officers, or in cases of miscarriage where it is possible to lay it upon any under-officer, instancing at present in Captain Greydon's[3] case for the loss, I think, of the St. David, where the court laid it upon the carpenter, and after the rising thereof one of the captains were [*sic*] heard to say to Greydon, 'God damme, Jack, we have made shift to bring you off, but by God you must remember to do the like by any of us when it comes to our turn.'

Q[*uaere*] Dugdale's *Juridiciales*,[4] Sir H. Spelman's *Gloss.*,[5] my Lord Cook's Jurisdiction of

[1] John Cutts, Baron Cutts of Gowran, a distinguished soldier, was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1693.

[2] See note on p. 23 above.

[3] John Graydon, afterwards appointed Vice-Admiral. His *Collection of Naval Flags and Colours*, 1686, is in the Pepysian Library [No. 1608].

[4] Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, published in 1666.

[5] The first volume of Sir Henry Spelman's *Glossary* appeared in 1626, and the second, edited by Dugdale, in 1664, twenty-three years after his death.

Courts,[1] etc., for the antiquities of our Great Officers, comparing them with the Lord Admiral's as high as we would have that Office, Court, and Jurisdiction to go.

Consider the preface of the Act for preserving the western ports of England, 23 H. 8, ch. 8.[2]

September 21, 1693. This day Mr. Lee the globe-maker[3] came to shew mẽ some draughts, which led us to discourse about Collins's late Book of Sea-Charts,[4] that let me into a large field of enquiries into the faults even of this work of his, and those many and great, and many things only copied therein. Which led me to the resolving upon having them, Waggener,[5] and the *Neptune François*[6] compared by Mr. Thornton,[7] though at my own charge: thereby to see what can be gathered of useful on that subject, and particularly the inferences to be made therefrom concerning the Trinity House, among whom Collins is a Younger Brother.

[1] Sir Edward Coke's *Fourth Institute* is a treatise on the jurisdiction of the different courts of law.

[2] 'An Act for the amending and maintenance of the ports of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Falmouth, and Fowey, in the counties of Devon and Cornwall,' providing for the control of the stream-tinners, whose operations had choked up these ports.

[3] Mr. Lea the globe-maker is referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence*.

[4] Greenvile Collins the hydrographer collected the charts which he had published from time to time as the result of his survey of the coasts of the kingdom, begun in 1681, and issued them under the title of *Great Britain's Coasting Pilot* in 1693, the year of his death. A copy is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2988].

[5] See note on p. 12 above. [6] See note on p. 316 above.

[7] A reference in Pepys's 'Home Notes' (*Private Correspondence*, i. 167) suggests that Mr. Thornton was a map-maker; and the Pepysian Library contains a copy of Thornton's 'Coasting-lines of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, the United Provinces, Denmark, and Spain, with the comparison of their lengths, 1696' [No. 2970].

Lea also tells me that Collins has made use of one Mount, a bookseller, for his partner in the charge of graving his charts, and not a chart-maker. By which he saith that he believes they come to be so imperfect.

He tells me too that he has had an account in writing, and believes he has it still by him, of the Town of Yarmouth's presenting yearly a parcel of herrings to the City of Norwich, which they do afterwards the like in pies to the King, with certain ceremonies attending it, in pursuance of some tenure of theirs from the Crown.

Mind and overlook the papers sticking in several of my books,[1] and particularly Cicero, referring to matters naval therein. The like of Caesar's *Commentaries*, etc.

In order to my better judging of Collings's new work,[2] enquire after his sobriety and method of application in performing of the same from some that were with him.

See whether the *Neptune François* came not out time enough even for Mr. Russell to have profited by it in 1692;[3] it serving to carry the French ships into St. Malo's, though we could not make it serve us to follow them by.

Observe what express care was taken *in terminis* to provide for a fair and speedy dispatch of all maritime causes, without any liableness to prohibitions from any other Courts, in a special clause or two at the end of a Treaty of Peace between our Henry 7 and France dated the

[1] The Pepysian Library contains several copies of the works of Cicero, but there seem to be no such papers in any of them.
[2] See note on p. 324 above. [3] See p. 316 above.

24th of May, 1497, in the 1st vol. of Monsieur Leonard's Collection of Treaties.[1]

It is observable that none of the people of the Navy, though they have shewn themselves very little partial to their late masters,[2] have adventured upon saying one word either in detraction of their known care of the Navy or contradiction to my report of the good state thereof at King James's leaving it,[3] though they of all men could best do it, in case there were any room for it. But instead of them, all that has been said has been from persons of the Long Robe who know nothing of it.

Dr. Gale [4] observes to me that the *Comes Littoris Saxonici* had his stations upon the French coast on land, and resided as much there as here, both shores being called Saxon for the same reason of being alike infested by those people. And from thence infers that Mr. Selden's argument, from this office's having its stations in England and its charge extended to the other coast, may as well be turned against us and prove the sea's belonging to France as well as to us. Forasmuch as the *Notitiae* [5] itself mentions (as the Dr. saith) this Officer there, and that our coast is called *Saxonicum.* But I forgot to observe to him that he is called *Comes Litt. Sax. per Britannias,* in order to the considering whether that may not advance Mr. Selden's proposition.

[1] Leonard's *Recueil des Traités de Paix . . .* 1435–1686, 6 vols., is in the Pepysian Library [Nos. 1884–9]. The reference in the text is to the commercial treaty of May 1497 between England and France.

[2] Charles II and James II.

[3] In his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* (1690).

[4] See note on p. 177 above. [5] See note on p. 285 above.

Consider what may be inferred relating to the danger or security of an island as such, from the King of France's leaving his whole coast towards us and in the Bay of Biscay open to our invasion, 1693, when he knew that our Parliament had expressly given money for a descent, and the King promised one this year in amends for the failure the last. Notwithstanding which, the King of France sends his whole fleet away to interrupt our Turkey-ships upon the Spanish coast,[1] and this though they know our whole strength and that of the Dutch ; and yet what is more, they called all their land-forces from their sea-coast to go to Flanders, even while they knew the gross of our whole Fleet and the Dutch to be then in the Channel, viz. in or about the month of August.[2]

Remember the instances given me by Dr. Brady,[3] June 1693, of the precepts to the Cinque Ports, *Capitanei Marinariorum,* and sheriffs of counties, in the time of Edward I, for setting out the ships of those Ports for public service according to right.

An extract of a written account of the Hundreds of Norfolk (communicated to me by Mr. Lea the globe-maker [4]) relating to a tenure of one particular manor therein concerning herrings, viz.,

[1] This refers to the disaster to the Smyrna fleet, which was intercepted off the Spanish coast by Tourville and an overwhelming force, June 17–18, 1693.

[2] A great French army, at first commanded by Louis XIV in person, was concentrated in Flanders in the spring of 1693, and on July 19 the battle of Neerwinden was fought.

[3] See note on p. 279 above.

[4] See note on p. 324 above.

Norfolk,
Humbleyard Hundred.

Carlton[1] contains 2 churches: the one St. Peter's, disused and a sinecure, in the King's gift; the other St. Mary's, the Mayor and Aldermen of Norwich be patrons: both rectories. The lord of this manor is by tenure of the same bound to send to the King yearly a certain number of herring-pies. The story is this. The Town of Great Yarmouth is by charter to send one hundred herrings, the first in season, to the Sheriffs of Norwich, who are obliged to make them into pies and to deliver the same to be conveyed to Court by the lord of this manor.[2] Which custom continues to this day.

Q. more hereof?

Instances (given me, 1692, by Dr. Brady) of the ancient prices of several things and works, and particularly of a ship Royal, viz.,

Rot. pip. 5° Steph. R. Tit. London et Middlesex.	In duobus arcubus de ponte London faciendis, xxv*li.* No.
Rot. 15. *Q.* anon. 18° H. 1.	In panno emendo ad ponendum supra sepulchrum Reginae, iii*s.* No.
Rot. pip. 5° Ric. 1 Tit. Sudsexa.	Alano Trenchmer xliiij marc et xi*s.* ad navem Regiam faciendam.

[1] Probably East Carlton, near Wymondham, Norfolk.
[2] See also p. 325 above.

Ric[ard]o Brit. et Magistris G. Angelo et Will[elm]o de Tounton[1] 40*s.* ad conducendam navem ad transfretandam in servicio Regis per breve Regis.

Among divers things observable in Dr. Dee's *British Monarchy*,[2] wrote by him in 1576, and whereof it tells us there was but 100 copies printed in the following year for particular friends, and of which mine seems from his handwriting (as I believe it to be) his own book,[3] whose general scope is the exciting the nation by a general contribution to the building a particular force of ships to be maintained by a separate provision of treasure, officers, etc., under the title of a Petty Navy Royal, consisting of 60 strong and tall ships and 20 less: these special notes are to be had and recurred to upon occasion for stricter use, viz.—

That the tall ships of that age (page 18) are expressly described to consist of from 160 to 200 tons, and the 20 smaller of between 20 and 50 tons, to be manned with 6660 men; and there estimated at the charge of 200,000*l.* yearly; with a project very observable touching the disposal of the overplus of the treasure arising from that contribution.

It gives us a particular account of our shameful permitting of the Dutch to run

[1] Possibly the William de Wrotham referred to in the note on p. 233 above.

[2] John Dee, the mathematician and astrologer, published in 1577 *General and Rare Memorials pertaining to the Perfect Arte of Navigation*, of which the running title is *The British Monarchy*. A copy of this, catalogued as 'Dee's English Sea-Monarchy,' is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2158].

[3] There appears to be nothing in Pepys's copy to suggest this.

away with our fishing close upon our coast, with the time since when they began it. Page [*blank*].

It gives us also the notion he has, and which he seems to speak of as the general notion of that time, of the extent of our sea-dominion, viz. half way only between our own and the opposite coast, allowing expressly the other half for the dominion of the prince and proprietors of that coast. Page 21.

He tells us pretty fully how much we were, even in that age, infested by pirates, even of our own countrymen as well as strangers. Page 5 and 6, etc.

He quotes several passages in our historians to the honour of King Edgar, from page 55 forward, and of King Arthur, and therein giving occasion of observing that as the most that was then pretended to by their celebrated numbers of ships was *Defensio Regni contra exteras nationes*, and that Edgar's circumnavigations and advancing his territories beyond any of his ancestors by subduing the Kings of the Islands are expressed in words that seem sufficiently to shew that they dreamt of no claim to any dominion beyond their land-limits.

Consilium de Ænham, Anno 1009. *Spelman, Con*[*cilia*],[1] *fol.* 511, *etc. Ibid. c.* 2, *c.* 6, *c.* 19.

There were ordained Naval Laws: that a fleet should be equipped every year at Easter;

[1] The first volume of Sir Henry Spelman's *Concilia Decreta Leges Constitutiones in re Ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* appeared in 1639; the second not until 1664.

that if any man did injury to a ship he was to repair the damage; that if he destroyed a ship he was to be punished as for treason, etc. A note of Dr. Plot's.

Will not our ancient Acts and other Parliament transactions be found to run universally under the term, *Safeguard of the Seas* and not *Dominion*?

Collect and consider all papers of complaint or censure of the misconducts of our Navy, and ill-protecting our merchant ships, stirring in Parliament 1693.

Ditto in their examinations touching the particular matter of the want of provisions there, with the issues thereof, especially touching their vote of there having been beer enough.[1]

Enquire into the proof of the ships built by the great supplies given therefor since 1688.

What appears of any inequality between our and the French sea force on either side from year to year since the beginning of the present war, 1693?

Consider and bewail the contents of the paper jointly delivered-in by Sir James and Sir John H[oublon][2] and Mr. G[old][3] to the E[arl] of P[embroke],[4] November 1693, touching the present ill state of our naval force and commerce.

[1] On November 27, 1693, the House voted that there was sufficient beer (*History and Proceedings*, ii. 420).

[2] On the brothers Houblon see note on p. 214 above.

[3] Mr. John Gold was a London merchant interested in the Italian trade (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, iv. 536).

[4] Thomas Herbert, eighth Earl of Pembroke, was first Admiralty Commissioner from 1690 until 1692, when he became Lord Privy Seal.

Reflect upon the place where that manor lies which was held by the tenure of holding up the King's head in his passage over sea; and *Q.* whether the first lord thereof, or any since, have been or had any obligation to be seamen.

Captain Davis[1] in discourse observes to me that in our former wars our ships have been so full of victuals that it hath grieved his heart to see so much staved as he has done, to clear their ships for fight, particularly in their wings,[2] for the readier coming-at and stopping of shot-holes.

Consider the inexperience and consequently unsteadiness of most of our Parliament-enquiries into any sea-matters and censures of the same, observing for an instance thereof the earnestness wherewith they lately voted the miscarriage of the Turkey fleet the last summer[3] to have been a notorious and treacherous miscarriage, and their solemn unvoting the same again November 29, '93, as to the word *treacherous*.[4] Nor may't

[1] Possibly Captain William Davies, who had commanded the Resolution in 1688, and was then appointed rear-admiral. In July 1689 he became vice-admiral of the red under the Earl of Torrington, but he seems to have retired from the service soon after.

[2] 'Those parts of the hold and orlop-deck which are nearest to the sides. This term is particularly used in the stowage of the several materials contained in the hold, and between the cable-tiers and the ship's sides. In ships of war they are usually kept clear, that the carpenter and his crew may have access round the ship to stop shot-holes in time of action' (Smyth, *Sailor's Word-book*).

[3] See note on p. 327 above.

[4] On November 17, 1693, it was moved in the House of Commons 'that upon examination of the miscarriage of the fleet and the loss of the Turkey Company sustained this summer, this House is of opinion that there hath been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement of the fleet this year' (*Commons' Journals*, xi. 5). An amendment to omit the words 'and treacherous' was carried by 140 to 103.

be unuseful to attend to the further issue of their enquiries into that matter for so much as they do retain of their former vote, namely, *a notorious miscarriage*, with respect either to the land or sea admirals.

Ignorance only as to the knowing how to contradict or control any demand of money relating to the Navy is it, that hath always led our Parliaments to choose to lump it with the Court, as Sir Thomas Meers [1] used to call it: declaring expressly that they never found they got anything by looking into the court accounts. And this is it that hath brought the extravagant medium of the Navy to be so long allowed as it hath been. For though I have asserted in print,[2] and Mr. H[ewer] and Sir A[nthony] D[eane] have lately done the same in writing, to the present Commissioners of Accounts; [3] and though Mr. Foley himself as one of them [4] has declared his being convinced by his own examinations thereof that it comes to much less than either I or they have said, and what Sir Matt. Andrews [5] (his Fellow-Commissioner, and on whom in particular lay the business of the Navy as his single province) has delivered as his particular opinion thereof to that Board. Yet have they suffered the Parliament to walk along hitherto by the old medium. Nor will it be unfit to observe how they acquit themselves therein to the Parliament

[1] On Sir Thomas Meres, see note on p. 160 above.

[2] In his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* (1690).

[3] See p. 269 above.

[4] Paul Foley had been chosen a Commissioner of Public Accounts on December 26, 1690. In 1695 he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

[5] Sir Mathew Andrews had been knighted in 1675. He appears to have been connected with the East India Company.

this session, November 1693, after these their declarations.

But it is further to be noted that the same ignorance how to defend this medium, if closely inquired into, has no less led the Court in times past, and during all my memory, to choose rather to sit down contented by the lump with what is offered them by Parliament, than tenaciously to stick to the demand and thereby endanger its being too strictly looked into. At least till now that the Court is in a condition I never knew it in, of asking, insisting upon, and carrying what they ask of supplies, according to their own measures of calculating the same.

How little the laws of this land, or even the method and style of our proceedings by the Civil Law in cases maritime, seem to be adjusted to the Sea-Dominion we pretend to, does among other instances sufficiently shew itself in the very awkwardness of phrase, as well as unacquaintedness with the subject, of our lawyers' public pleadings, whether Common or Civil, in any causes relating to the sea, shipping, or commerce.

Mr. Man and his son in discourse this 22nd of October 1693, observe to me that the King in his last coming from Holland was said to find it necessary to strike the standard on his yacht, and make some other to go off into a boat habited like him, the better to keep him from being known to be there by some vessel, privateer or other, that they are said to have then been in apprehension of. But the particulars or authority of the story they were not then masters of. As they seemed more to be of another discourse in the town of some of our colliers having been

driven, for want of convoys from the State, to hire two privateers at their own charge, by a proportionable allowance from each, to conduct them into the River. To which it is moreover said that some of them were called before the Admiralty and reprehended for their so doing.[1] But of the truth of this last they know not.

Transcribe all the claims of the Cinque Ports (which I either have or can get) at coronations. And any other notices, old or modern, relating thereto.

What use will the Commissioners of Accounts, 1693, be found to make of any of the admirable notes lodged before them, W[illiam] H[ewer's] and Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s great Report,[2] and other papers so much importing the weal of the Navy to be known and improved, and fit as well as capable of being otherwise done if they don't do it ?

Consult Sir Joseph Williamson[3] upon the Collection of Treaties between us and France lately printed by Leonard.[4]

Take notice of Dr. Board's describing England's security to lie, even in King Henry 8th's time, to whom he was physician, and dedicates his book[5] to the Princess Mary, in the number of the castles surrounding it.

Ditto also of the list he gives of the then most considerable sea-ports thereof, comparing the same

[1] See p. 311 above. [2] See pp. 264, 271 above.
[3] See note on p. 78 above. [4] See note on p. 326 above.
[5] Andrew Boorde, or Borde (*d.* 1549), traveller and physician. Until the Dissolution he was a Carthusian monk. The ' book ' is his *Introduction of Knowledge* (1547 ?), a copy of which is in the Pepysian Library [No. 843].

with that in one of the foresaid treaties in the time (I think) of Edward 4th.

Consider how any one continued series of public news pamphlets may be procured, from the Restoration 1660 to the invention of gazettes in 1665,[1] as the readiest foundation for an account of our naval actions, from that time to the end of my relation thereto, that can be had, *i.e.* for so much as concerns order of time; proved by me in my late retrospection into what hath passed during the present war, 1693.

Vide the naval notes extant in Stewechius upon Vegetius.[2]

Bishops serving as admirals with us, and our fleet's being carried as high up as Staines in the River of Thames. *Vide* instances of each in *Chronicon Saxonicum*.[3]

Note Mr. Selden's shifts how to accommodate the 5 Peers in Froissart to make it bear with the

[1] The bulletins of information sent out in the middle of the 16th century by the Venetian Government were sold for a *gazetta*, a coin worth a little more than a halfpenny, and thus 'gazette' came to be a common term for a cheap news-letter. The first number of the *Oxford Gazette* was published on November 14, 1665, when the Court was at Oxford on account of the plague, and this afterwards became the *London Gazette*.

[2] Flavius Renatus Vegetius, a writer of the 4th century, was the author of *Institutorum Rei Militaris*. It was translated by Caxton from the French of Christine de Pisan, and printed by him in 1489 under the title, *Fayts of Arms and Chivalry*. The copy in the Admiralty Library (1607) has notes by Godeschalcus Stewechius and Franciscus Modius, and the dedication is signed G. S.

[3] '992. Then the King and all his Witan decreed that all the ships that were of any worth should be gathered at London. And the King then committed the leading of the force to the Alderman Aelfric, and to the Earl Thored, to Bishop Aelfstan, and to Bishop Aescwig.

'993. In this year came Olaf with ninety-three ships to Staines, and harried without it' (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: *cf.* also 1009).

true number of the then Peers of England, and what that number was, and all for want of animadverting upon the easy error of the transcriber in writing 5 Peers for 5 Ports.

Admiral[s] none of the great Officers of State whom the law makes it murder to kill. *Vide* Lord Hales's *Pleas of the Crown.*[1]

Broad-Arrow. Blunt's Tenures,[2] page 103, quotes Robert of Gloucester Com. Salop, and a grant of William the Conqueror's.

Memorandum, to get the liberty of perusing the old Council Books; of which Mr. Southwell[3] has given me a perfect list, viz. of so many thereof as are now extant there, 1693, and consider of the means of finding-out the rest.

Observe from the late public disputes at the Council-Board and elsewhere, about October or November 1693, between the 3 sea-admirals and the Lord Falkland,[4] and the public censure whereto the said admirals are exposed in a Gazette by Order of Council, how little we seem to act like persons conscious of the dangers attending such exposures of admirals in preference to that of a land-general, especially where the admiral happens to be a seaman and popular.

[1] Sir Matthew Hale, *Pleas of the Crown,* 1678.

[2] Thomas Blount, *Fragmenta Antiquitatis, Ancient Tenures of Land, and Jocular Customs of some Manors,* 1679.

[3] Edward Southwell, son of Sir Robert Southwell the diplomatist, had been sworn in as a clerk to the Privy Council on April 1, 1693. He is referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence* (i. 66; ii. 318).

[4] See note on p. 264 above. The three admirals were Henry Killigrew, Sir Ralph Delavall, and Sir Clowdisley Shovell, who had been appointed to the joint command of the fleet on the supersession of Russell in the autumn of 1692.

Wait and improve what of useful is to be learnt from the event of Tom Phillips's present expedition [1] with bombs and other preparations against St. Malo's; it being long since England has been concerned in any attempts of that kind.

What I noted just now about the 3 admirals may more reasonably be applied to the case of Mr. Russell,[2] in reference to his disgrace the last year in his being then laid by and his command given to others, and now called to it again (November 1693) for the approaching year 1694, should there remain in him any resentments of what is past.

But yet much more what might I have done at the very instant of my being causelessly persecuted by the House of Commons in the year 1679,[3] could any ill usage from them or temptations from France have preponderated my regard to my country: the knowledge necessary to qualify a man to fill the place of a Secretary of the Admiralty (I do not say of an Admiral, forasmuch as no Admiral within my memory but the Duke of York, or Secretary but Sir William Coventry,[4] ever regarded more than a most superficial and stinted knowledge of one only part of the work of the Navy), carrying unavoidably with it an indefeatable [5] power of delivering

[1] Thomas Phillips, a military engineer, was a member of the expedition under Lord Dartmouth which was sent in 1683 to demolish the Mole at Tangier, and was therefore well known to Pepys, who refers to him in his Tangier Diary. He was in charge of the bombs at the attack on St. Malo on November 17–19, 1693, and died on board ship on November 22.

[2] See p. 337 above.

[3] See J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, pp. 235–39.

[4] See p. 291 above.

[5] This form is rare, but it was in use in the 17th and 18th centuries.

up his country (if, like this, an island) by his own single villainy to any neighbouring prince moderately (though not equally) furnished with naval force.

I was this day (November) told by my old servant G——, who was this last voyage with the 3 admirals in the Britannia 1693,[1] to my great grief though not surprise, that this ship was once on fire in the Bay of Biscay, and twice if not thrice within the voyage on ground. He complains also of the great debauchery of the Fleet, and even in this, the admirals' own ship, they themselves sitting and drinking till one or two in the morning, and that Ashby is lookt upon in the Fleet to have killed himself with drinking,[2] as being observed to die within 2 or 3 days after a great drinking bout. He complains too in general of the unfitness of our captains for their charges, through youth and inexperience; observing these things to me with tears, poor man, all the while in his eyes, as remembering how much better the fleets of England have within his observation in former wars been lookt after and conducted, both as to men and manners. God amend both, or our Navy must be lost, and England with it.

December 28th, 1693. In answer to an enquiry of mine, mentioned more than once

[1] See p. 337 above.

[2] Captain John Ashby, then in command of the Defiance, had been knighted on May 16, 1689, for good service at the battle of Bantry Bay on May 1. He commanded the rear of the fleet at La Hogue as admiral of the blue, and was questioned and exonerated by the House of Commons in connexion with the charges of failure to follow up the victory (see note on p. 216 above). He died on July 12, 1693, but his biographers do not ascribe his death to excessive drinking.

among these Minutes,[1] how small vessels are at this day employed in any of our foreign trades out of the Channel, Sir James Houblon[2] gives me his recollection out of his books touching a vessel of not above 12 tons which I remember he some years ago told me of, that came for him and Company with a loading of figs from Portugal; he now doing this in these words, viz.: 'Sir Edward Spragge took from the Moors[3] a brigantine which Mr. Phi:[4] Best bought of him, and fully laded the said vessel at Faro[5] with 167 barrels and about 40 *canetos*[6] of figs, with a small parcel of canes and flag-brooms for Dunidge,[7] all which did not amount to 11 tons. This vessel, called the Adventure, safely arrived at London (having been about a month in her passage) the beginning of November 1672. James Watts[8] came master of her, and she was sold here, with all her ammunition and stores, for thirty pounds.

Dr. Plott[9] helps me to this note out of the first volume of Spelman's Councils,[10] page 520, viz. in the general Council at Ænham, cap. 23, *De Navali Expeditione sub Paschate*,[11] in these Latin terms of translation of the Saxon text annexed, *i.e.*,

[1] The reference is not clear. [2] See note on p. 214 above.

[3] Sir Edward Spragge was in chief command in the Mediterranean from 1670 to 1672, and on May 8, 1671, he fought the successful action of Bugia Bay, destroying seven Algerine frigates and three prizes.

[4] Phineas.

[5] Probably the Portuguese port east of Cape St. Vincent.

[6] Spanish *canasta* or *canasto* = hamper.

[7] Dunwich.

[8] James Watts had been Sir Edward Spragge's lieutenant in the Triumph in 1666.

[9] See note on p. 281 above. [10] See note on p. 330 above.

[11] This reference is to a section in Spelman's *Concilia* entitled 'Expeditio Navalis.'

'Cavendum etiam est, ut celeriùs post Paschatis Festum navalis expeditio annuò sit parata. Si quis navem in Reipub. expeditionem designatam vitiaverit, damnum integrè restituto, et pacem Regis violatam compensato. Si verò eam ità prorsùs corruperit, ut deinceps nihili habeatur, plenam luito injuriam et laesam praetereà Majestatem.'

Which, according to the old Latin translation which immediately follows the Saxon in the MSS., and is also preserved by Sir H. Spelman in his same volume of Councils, viz. immediately after this entry, runs thus, page 528,

'Naves per singulos annos ob patriae defensionem et munitionem praeparentur, postque sacrosanctum Pascha cum cunctis utensilibus competentibus simul congregentur. Quia igitur etiam poena digni sunt qui navium detrimentum in aliquibus perficiunt, notum cunctis esse cupimus. Quicunque aliquam ex navibus per quampiam inertiam, vel per incuriam, vel negligentiam corruperit, et tamen recuperabilis sit, is navis corruptelam vel fracturam ejusdem persolidam prius recuperet, Regique deinde ea quae pro ejusdem munitionis fractura sibimet pertinent, ritè persolvat.

Memorandum, from this instance to overlook (if not to buy[1]) the whole of Sir H. Spelman's Councils.

[1] The two volumes of Spelman's *Concilia* are in the Pepysian Library [Nos. 2818 and 2819].

[1] *MR. GIBSON'S NOTES* [2]

The French no strangers to our harbours.

1. From their vicinity and trade.
2. By the Dutch supplying them and us with sea-charts called Waggeners,[3] describing the shape of the land, sea-marks to sail into and out of all harbours, setting, ebbing, and flowing of the tides, places of anchoring, etc.
3. By the many English sailing in their ships, and the great encouragement given by the French King to our English mariners above his own.
4. Dutch pilots may be had, and Dunkirk and Calais privateers, etc., sufficient to pilot the French King's ships whenever his occasions call for them.
5. The Dutch hired one Holland [4] to bring up their ships to Chatham. The French King might have many Hollands if he wanted them.
6. The Spanish Armada wanted no pilots; yet they then were more unacquainted with our ports than the French then and now.
7. The French had pilots of their own to burn Plymouth and plunder the Wight in Queen Elizabeth's time.[5]

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[1] At this point a fresh copyist begins to be employed.
[2] See note on p. 23 above. [3] See note on p. 12 above.
[4] See note on p. 19 above.
[5] Pepys may be thinking of the French attack on the Isle of Wight in 1545. He is not at all accurate about reigns.

The trade of England till Henry 8th was drove generally by the Easterlings and strangers ; consequently our coasts known to them at that time better than by ourselves.

Remember the Dutch coming upon the Rivers of Thames and Medway and bringing down the Royal Charles from thence.[1] So as no English pilot we have would undertake to do the like after them.

Remember too, that this was but in requital for what we did from our acquaintance upon their coasts, when Sir Robert Holmes burnt their ships in the Vly.[2] And recollect instances of our fleets dealing with the Banks of Flanders.[3]

Which shews that there neither is nor can be any such thing as a secret in the knowledge of our coasts, or the coasts of any other nation at this day of so great and mutual trade as there is between us of Great Britain, France, and Holland.

Q[*uaere*] what public intimations have been published in the Gazettes and other ways about the placing of lights and buoys, and what is to be inferred from thence.

Mr. Gibson [4] observes pilotage to be paid by strangers ; but not one stranger in ten that comes up the River uses a pilot but has some allowance returned for it by the Trinity House.

[1] In June 1667. The stern-piece of the Royal Charles is exhibited as a trophy in the Rijks Museum at Amsterdam.

[2] On August 8, 1666, Sir Robert Holmes destroyed two Dutch men-of-war and a large number of merchant ships in the Vlie, off the islands of Vlieland and Terschelling. See Pepys's *Diary*, August 15, 1666, and Wheatley's note.

[3] *E.g.* Prince Rupert's action with the Dutch off the Schoonveldt on May 28, 1673.

[4] See note on p. 23 above.

The French familiar in every one of our ports by their constant navigations thereto.

Captain Saunders[1] owns, and says we may find it in his journal about two years since, that he was forced to give a French fisherman 5*s.* to carry him with the Portsmouth yacht into Rye.

He says also that during this fishing season we cannot sail in the night between the South Foreland and Beachy for fear of running foul upon the French fishermen, who drudge[2] with their nets for fish and know all our shoals.

He says also that there is not a day in the year that there is not more or less Frenchmen about the Isle of Wight, and Hampton, which is our most considerable port, those of St. Malo's and Sherbrough[3] knowing the Isle of Wight, Southampton, and Portsmouth every whit as well as we do, being always there.

He says also that we are forced to use a man of Jersey, one Phil. Deval, to carry our ships and yachts over to the said island.

Captains Gunman and Saunders say that they know all the coasts of France, from Burdeaux to Calais, as well as any Frenchman.

And that from Beachy westward we have all open harbours which require no difficulty in the entering; the difficulties upon our coasts lying from Beachy this way, our havens being all or most of them tide-havens.

[1] He is entered in Pepys's *Register* as Ralph Saunderson (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 403). His commission to the Portsmouth yacht is dated July 30, 1674.

[2] An obsolete form of *dredge*. It survives as dialect on the S.E. coast.

[3] Cherbourg.

They also say that the Dutch know our coasts to the northward and westward as well as we.

They say that even Seller's new maps are many of them little less than transcripts of the Dutch maps,[1] some of them even with papers pasted over and names scratched.

Captain Gunman and Captain Saunders do also note that all the titles and words in our English and French Waggeners [2] are Dutch.

As also that all nations do come into the River of Thames without pilots as well as with, viz. the Sweeds and Danes up to the Swan.[3]

That the Ostenders, etc., do every day come over the Flats,[4] and sometimes 4 billenders [5] together,—nay, the very Spanish orange-vessels; of which last Mr. Gibson will enquire further.

Holland,[6] that is said to have carried the Dutch up to Chatham and owns it, is now [7] master of Prince Rupert's vessel.[8]

Breackell has told Captain Saunders that he carried his ship to Chatham himself and broke the boom. He has sailed with the English heretofore, and has been twenty times up Chatham River, and had then an Englishman his gunner, and several other Englishmen on board. This

[1] See p. 135 above. [2] See note on p. 12 above.
[3] This might be a mistake for the Swin; but in the *Diary* (August 4, 1662) Pepys mentions a public-house at Gravesend called the Swan.
[4] The Kentish Flats.
[5] 'Bilanders' were coasters. The word was in use as late as the 18th century.
[6] See note on p. 19 above. [7] Probably 1693.
[8] See note on p. 247 above.

was he that clapt my Lord Sandwich[1] thwart the hawse.[2]

Q[*uaere*]. Does our navigation from all ports frequently serve itself with strangers of all nations?

Recollect the history of the attacks that have been made by foreigners in ancient times upon every one of our sea ports, viz. Plymouth, Portsmouth, Winchelsey, Rye, Rostington,[3] and , particularly the coming up of the French and burning of Gravesend in the time of Richard 2[d],[4] and a French and Fleming vessel chasing one another up as high as the Tower of London in the time of Henry 8th.

Remember some instances of the miscarriages of our own ships upon our own coasts, not only merchantmen but the King's, and particularly the Prince upon the Galloper,[5] and some others in danger at Portsmouth; and others, and at one time our whole fleet lost itself, and gave occasion to the laying down of a new channel.

It appears that our sea-marks are set up for strangers as well as natives, not only by their paying to them, but their paying greater rates than natives, and those set by the King himself (as I take it) and taken by Trinity House.

[1] Admiral Edward Mountagu, first Earl of Sandwich (*cr.* 1660).

[2] *I.e.* laid his vessel across the bows of Lord Sandwich's ship, the Prince. This happened in the action off Lowestoft, June 3, 1665.

[3] This must be Rottingdean; the French made a descent upon it in 1377.

[4] See note on p. 238 above.

[5] The old Prince Royal, a 1st-rate originally built in 1610 and rebuilt in 1641 and 1663, was lost upon the Galloper, June 3, 1666, during the engagement off the North Foreland, and the admiral, Sir George Ayscue, was taken prisoner by the Dutch.

It appears that the first edition of the first Part of Waggener was printed in 1583 in Dutch, was presented to Queen Elizabeth and her Privy Council in the year 1586 or before by the Dutch Ambassador, and approved and encouraged by them to be translated into some more universal language (which by Waggener's Epistle, 1586, seems to have been then done by him into Latin, —*Quaere* ?). And this by one Anthony Ashley [1] (ancestor [2] to my Lord Shaftsbury) at the instance of Sir C. Hatton, Lord Chancellor,[3] and was in doing the time of the Spanish preparations against us and ours against them *anno* 1587, and published within 3 months after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which was in July 1588 and Ashley's Dedicatory Epistles dated the 20th of October following, in which he declares not only the welcomeness of this work to all, and especially our English mariners, but the little fear they had of any ill consequence to us of exposing to the world the draughts of our coasts, from their encouraging the translating of it into Latin, as well as causing it to be done into English, and this not only where they were expecting and preparing for the approaches of this great enemy, but even after so late an experiment how much the defeat of the Spaniards was to be imputed to the ignorance of our coasts ; and this also notwithstanding he observes at the same time that the malice of the common enemy of God and man (meaning the Spaniard) did even then after that

[1] See note on p. 305 above.

[2] MS. 'auncester.' Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, was Sir Anthony Ashley's grandson. John Cooper of Rockborne in Hampshire had married Anne Ashley, and his eldest son was born in her father's house at Wimborne St. Giles, and was named after him.

[3] See note on p. 225 above.

defeat daily increase and come to height, the author reckoning the publishing of this work as one means of our defence, and the Chancellor's command for his translating of this book (both Parts of which were now published by Waggener and consequently our whole coasts and River of Thames exposed) a manifestation of his zeal for this common good, grounded (I suppose) upon the need which our mariners themselves stood in of this help. And this I the rather think, from its being presented to the Queen and Council by the Lord Admiral himself,[1] and the truth of this Dutchman's in particular from their Ambassador owned by Ashley's translating it without [2] contradiction. To which is further to be added, that Ashley is not contented to translate Waggener's maps, but pretends,[3] upon advice with the best experienced, to have mended them in many places, and left blanks in the sea for any future amendment. And probably (*Q.* whether so or no) most of those amendments of his must respect our own coasts. And yet notwithstanding all the labours of this gentleman's in having of his plates cut on purpose in English, and all his pretended amendments therein, and his care (according to his words in his title-page) in fitting this his work with necessary additions for the use of Englishmen; yet the subsequent editions of the Dutch Waggener, translated and printed by the Dutch themselves in English, with their own Dutch plates, have from time to time to this prevailed among us English (as the same in French has done among the French) till Seller [4] fell to

[1] Charles Howard, second Baron Howard of Effingham and afterwards Earl of Nottingham.

[2] MS. 'with.'

[3] *I.e.* claims.

[4] See note on p. 11 above.

work and made some improvements therein, but all before 1675. And it is to be remembered also that the Dutch were, at the time[1] when Waggener published this work for the laying down more plainly than ever before their own and our coasts, under the greatest differences with and distresses from Spain, and we engaged in their assistance. Note also that Ashley, for the better recommending his book, observes in his title-page that therein may be understood the exploits lately achieved by the Lord Admiral with the Queen's Navy (meaning that against the Spanish Armada) and the former services of Sir Francis Drake's.[2]

Q[*uaere*] upon the preceding paragraph :

1. The truth of what passed in the Council Table.[3]
2. The dates of the 1st edition of each Part of Waggener.[4]
3. Whether it ever was translated into Latin.[4]

[1] The copyist wrote ' at the same time,' and then crossed out ' time ' instead of ' same ' by mistake.

[2] The title-page reads : ' The Mariners Mirrour, wherin may playnly be seen the courses, heights, distances, depths, soundings, flouds and ebs, risings of lands, rocks, sands, and shoalds, with the marks for th'entrings of the Harboroughs, Havens, and Ports of the greatest part of Europe ; their several traficks and commodities ; together with the Rules and instruments of Navigation. First made and set fourth in divers exact Sea-Charts by that famous navigator L. Wagenar . . . and now fitted with necessarie additions for the use of Englishmen by A. Ashley. Heerin also may be understood the exploits lately atchived by the right honorable the L. Admiral of England with her Majesty's Navie, and some former services don by that worthy Knight Sir F. Drake.'

[3] There are no entries on this subject in the printed *Acts of the Privy Council*.

[4] The original work was printed in Dutch in two parts 1584–85 ; it was translated into Latin 1586 ; and Ashley's English translation, also in two parts, appeared in 1588. All three editions are in the Pepysian Library [Nos. 2798–2800].

4. What is become of the original Waggener presented to the Queen and Council by the Lord Admiral.

5. The amendments made therein by Ashley on our own coasts.

6. Compare Ashley's edition with the modern English edition set out by the Dutch.

7. Who Anthony Ashley was, he dating his Epistles from the Court of St. James's, and speaking therein of his daily attendance on the Lord Chancellor and the rest of my Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council;[1] and what his relation was to my Lord Shaftsbury.[2]

MR. GIBSON'S NOTES, SHEWING THAT THE FRENCH HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO BE THROUGHLY INFORMED OF THE ART OF BUILDING SHIPS.

1. From the great trade we and the Dutch have with them, they are thereby enabled to do the variety of moulds.

2. Their living for 30 years past by piracy.

3. In Oliver's days we had several of our men-of-war careened, washed, and tallowed at Thoulon, and the French King's master-shipwright there said the French

[1] It is the passage referred to by Pepys which has made it possible to identify the translator of the *Mariner's Mirrour* with the Sir Anthony Ashley, who was sworn in as a clerk to the Council on March 19, 1587 (Dasent, xiv. 385).

[2] See note on p. 347 above.

Ruby [1] was built from the mould of the Fairfax.[2]

4. We have the shipwright's art printed.[3]

5. Several Englishmen have built privateers in France, viz. the Hector, formerly the Three Kings, Captain James Smith's [4] ship.

6. Sutache [5] (between Marseilles and Thoulon) has for above 20 years outbuilt the English, both as to the beauty and sailing. I have seen 17 years past our new-fashioned galleries used then by the French.

7. Duke Dudley [6] (the Duke of Florence's engineer) has put forth fine draughts of the art of building ships and galleys.

8. Our art of building frigates, viz. the [Constant] Warwick, was from a Dunkirk frigate called the Old Warwick.[7]

9. Building varies as the use the nation has for them alters.[8] The Dutch build flottier [9] than the English, the French

[1] See note on p. 240 above.

[2] The Fairfax was a 3rd-rate, built at Deptford by Peter Pett, senior, in 1649. Her name was not changed at the Restoration.

[3] Pepys may be thinking of a work called *The Complete Shipwright*, published by Edmund Bushnell in 1669.

[4] Possibly the James Smith who had commanded the Newcastle in 1661, the Anne in 1662, and the Essex in 1663—'all in the time of profound peace,' writes the bloodthirsty Charnock, 'so that we can only regret we have nothing memorable to relate of him' (*Biographia Navalis*, i. 64).

[5] This must be La Ciotat, which still has large shipbuilding yards.

[6] See note on p. 224 above.

[7] See p. 223 above.

[8] *Cf.* p. 201 above.

[9] = Floatier.

and Spanish sharper than us ; their and our ports requiring it.

Q[*uaere*] whether what we exceed in [1] upon this head be not rather strength, beauty, and accommodation, than sailing and other virtues ?

Captain Gunman [2] and Captain Saunders [3] tell me that the French ships have been always in their memory as good as they are now, and that by fresh experience we have found them to sail and ride at anchor as well and carry [4] as good a wind as ours (and their guns better), [and] only draw a foot or two of water more than we.

Also that the French fleet's not fighting was neither for their want of skill nor courage, but something else.

That the Provenceals are as good sailers as any in the world, and that all the French small frigates beat us, and we beat the Dutch.

Captain Gunman and Captain Saunders also tell me that the French got the wind both of the Dutch and us last fight,[5] and kept it when they had it.

That the Dutch build floaty and shallow from necessity, because of the shoalness of their ports, and would build sharper and deeper if they could, and by virtue of this necessity it is, and not from their want of skill in building, that we outsail them. But the French build sharper and deeper

[1] = are pre-eminent in. [2] See note on p. 150 above.
[3] See note on p. 344 above.
[4] *I.e.* hold. 'Carry' is not a seaman's term in this connexion.
[5] La Hogue.

in the water than we, because they value their ships' qualities arising therefrom.

The Dutch valued not our Royal Charles, nor do now the St. Patrick, nor heretofore the Essex, but despise our ships.[1]

Mr. Sheldon,[2] an Englishman, built ships in Sweedland, and English commanders served that King in the late times.

The King of France in his *Reglement de Constructions*[3] the 22 of March, 1671, directs that the measures and proportions, or gabarris,[4] of all ships of war and trade used by the English, Dutch, and other strangers, be constantly kept in the place of their meeting as well as his own ships. And besides what further proof may be got of it, it seems inferable that he had then got those measures, etc., by what is expressly mentioned in the said *Reglement* touching the different practices of the English and Dutch about the matter of their tree-nails, viz. wood and iron, which he would have well examined.

Note, moreover, that in September 1673 the King of France established a *Reglement pour la Construction de ses Vaisseaux de Guerre*,[3] wherein he established most particularly all the dimensions which his builders should observe in a ship of every rate. Let this *Reglement* of dimensions be translated, and submitted to examination whether we can mend them or no.

[1] The Essex, a 3rd-rate, was taken by the Dutch on June 2, 1666, and the St. Patrick, a 4th-rate, in February 1667. On the Royal Charles see note on p. 343 above.

[2] See p. 245 above. [3] See note on p. 240 above.

[4] The French *gabarit* = a mould used in shipbuilding.

Consider Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s letters, answer, and the schits [1] about the galley-frigate,[2] with Sir John Narbrough and Mr. Shere's [3] reports thereof in writing, and Sir John N. and Captain Wyborne [4] *vivâ voce*, and examine Captain Willshire,[5] who first advised the King of them.

We have learned of the French their galleries and cartridges,[6] and *Q.* what else? We follow their galleries in our best new ships.

No nation makes a secret of the building of ships. Witness Dudley's great volume [7] of that and all other matters relating to the sea, writ so long ago in Italian, dedicated to the ,[8] wherein the particular methods of building of galleys, which is of most moment to them, is minutely discovered. Witness also the State of Genoa's building and presenting to our King a galley for Tangier,[9] and instead of being shy of teaching us, assisted us with officers to shew us the method of managing it.

We have also learned from the French their methods of galley-frigates at Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s request by the King's command, and the whole dimensions thereof sent him by the

[1] Perhaps for *schizzo* = a sketch.

[2] See p. 244 above.

[3] MS. 'Shære's.' On Sir Henry Shere, see note on p. 153 above.

[4] Captain John Wyborne was an officer of experience who had held ten commands between 1666 and 1681, including the James galley-frigate in October 1677 under a commission from Sir John Narbrough.

[5] On Captain Thomas Willshaw see note on p. 224 above.

[6] MS. 'carterages.'

[7] See note on p. 244 above.

[8] Blank in the M.S., but Dudley's book is dedicated to Ferdinand II, Duke of Tuscany.

[9] See note on p. 242 above.

King of France's Commissioner at Thoulon, Monsieur Sausigny.

Observe how much a bigger ship and an excellent sailer was built by the Portugueses not long since, called the Spiritu Sancto. Consult Mr. Houblon [1] and Sir A[nthony] D[eane] about it, and the reason of her being broke up.

Observe how particularly the dimensions and the furnitures of the Sovereign [2] have been long since described in the State of England,[3] and that that book is just now printed again, 1679, with the alterations in the Navy as they stand at this day, and the whole œconomy of the Navy. Get the first and last editions, besides what I have.[4]

Remember the accounts of the Navy found among my Lord of Bristol's [5] papers.

Consult what there is either new or better than ours in the French *Ordonnances*,[6] and whether they have borrowed anything from us since 1675?

[1] Probably Pepys's friend James Houblon the merchant. As he was knighted in 1692, this minute is of an earlier date, unless the reference is to his son James.

[2] See note on p. 235 above.

[3] Edward Chamberlayne's '*Angliae Notitiae* or the Present State of England' had first appeared anonymously in 1669. 'Just now printed again, 1679' suggests that some of these minutes were entered out of order. *Cf.* also the reference to 'the King's late institution' (1673) of a Mathematical School, on p. 360 below. It may be that Pepys brought together here a number of notes on shipbuilding, without reference to the dates at which they were originally made.

[4] The Pepysian Library contains the 16th (1689), the 17th (1692), the 18th (1694), the 19th (1700), and the 20th (1702), but Pepys may have discarded some of the earlier editions.

[5] Probably George Digby, second Earl of Bristol (*d.* 1677), who had been a Secretary of State under Charles I (1643), and also to Charles II when in exile (1657).

[6] See note on p. 371 below.

Is there any one good rule in our Navy that has not been long established in France? And are there not many in theirs which we have not?

Has there not been always Frenchmen serving in our men-of-war, both in peace and war, as well as in our merchantmen? And do not English and all other nations serve among other nations mutually, and consequently know one another's methods both of sailing and fighting, we having had both Sweeds, Dutch, German, and French in commands and other offices in our fleets?

Captain Gunman and Captain Saunders say also that the French observe better discipline among their men than we, to the giving us no trouble and disquiet for their sick men, want of water or provisions, etc., or their officers coming aboard any of our ships.

Our whole fleet was successively abroad within the view of the French in the years 1672 and '73, proved by Mr. Maddox's [1] book of ships paid off, and otherwise; or what few ships were not, the French might easily know by the freedom of our ports where all our ships lay.

The gentry of England consist either of persons untravelled, and consequently ignorant of what passes abroad in the world and is known to our neighbours, and so are apt to think many things secret that are known to others as well or better than to us; or such as having travelled, minded nothing but the pleasures or vices of other countries; [2] or else so many travelled gentlemen

[1] Perhaps the Robert Maddox mentioned in the *Diary* (July 11, 1663) as one of the clerks in the Navy Office.

[2] *Cf.* Pepys's view of the value of travel and the vices of some travellers in his *Private Correspondence* (Pepys Cockerell Collection), i. 283–4; ii. 242, 243.

as sit in an English House of Commons could never have been so ignorant of what is extant in print of the government of their navy, and building of ships both in France and Holland more and superior to anything that has been done upon that subject in England. And from this ignorance of our Parliaments in matters marine, it follows that when to that ignorance is added either an artificial or real suspicion of misconduct and mismanagements in the Navy, they know not how to judge when they have truth told them, but are apt to discredit any account that is given thereof, though of never so much importance to their safety; and think they do their country a mighty service if they can but make that suspicion to prevail so far as to prevent their parting with any money. By which I have known much disservice done to the public, and a charge grown to £50,000 that might have been stopped by 5 timelily given, and can easily suppose such a state of affairs possible as may render this ignorance (accompanied with that suspicion) fatal to the nation. And therefore, however men may too justly think it in other respects worthy censure, I do think his Majesty's late putting the business of the Admiralty into the hands of country gentlemen wholly ignorant of the business of the Navy[1] may in this particular prove of real use to the Government, viz. to convince them of that ignorance which they and their fellow-countrymen lay under (which they would not otherwise have found), and the importance of it to the public, that with the one and the other should know more of the marine concernments of the Government than they have yet done.

[1] Probably a reference to the appointment of the Commission of 1679, 'his Majesty' being Charles II.

By which it will also appear that however peccant our managements have been in other respects, those of the Navy have suffered in nothing more than from their having been so much misunderstood by those that ought and would otherwise have taken more care for the support thereof.

It is also worth noting that our English gentry in Parliament should be so little acquainted with what is to be found so largely in print upon a subject so importing the government and security of the nation, as not to know that we have no such thing as a secret discoverable in relation to our building of ships and the knowledge of our coasts, beyond what is known to all the world as well as we.[1]

And as another instance of the scandalous ignorance of the gentlemen of England in this matter, it is worth noting how stupendious[2] an undertaking they took mine to be to set out ninety ships of war[3] within so little time as I proposed; they often pinching me upon it while it was in doing; and Sir Thomas Lee[4] by name asking me whether I would venture my head upon that too (as I had formerly upon good grounds and with good effect in another case[5]), and had

[1] *Cf.* p. 354 above.

[2] This is not a mis-spelling, but a now obsolete form of 'stupendous.'

[3] The decision to equip a fleet of ninety ships was taken in February 1678, when England, in alliance with the Dutch, appeared to be on the eve of war with France.

[4] Sir Thomas Lee was M.P. for Aylesbury 1661–81; he became a member of the new Admiralty Commission appointed in 1679, just before Pepys's first resignation of the office of Secretary of the Admiralty.

[5] This probably refers to Pepys's speech in Parliament in February 1677, in support of the Bill for 30 new ships (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 48–54).

for answer that I would if he would venture his on the contrary; my success herein afterwards justifying me to the utmost, even beyond my undertaking, and is worthy being published, however the state of affairs changed afterwards so to the dissatisfaction of the Parliament as that they not going on, the fleet went not out.

Their ignorance further appears in the wondering so much at the expense of the Navy and its estimates, though nothing superior in proportion in any preceding times.

Another instance is their catching so fast at my undertaking for there being £60,000 worth of stores in magazines, over and above what was upon the ships at sea and belonging to the new ships, calling the same often to mind as if it were an extraordinary matter, when God knows it was not only true, at that time and at my surrendering my employment,[1] by states thereof in writing under the hand of the Surveyor of the Navy, but a scandal to the Government to have published to the world that we had no more.

Q[*uaere*] whether it would not appear, by comparing our English and Dutch sea-dictionaries, that we have borrowed many words, both in building, rigging, and navigation, from them, and the like of the French, Spaniards, and Portuguezes.

Q[*uaere*] whether we have not learned the method of stoveing[2] of cordage from the Dutch, and whether it were not better we imitated them in that, as also in the size of our cordage and sails, manner of sheathing, etc., more than we do.

[1] Presumably the resignation of 1679.
[2] *I.e.* drying it in a stove to prepare it for tarring.

It appears that we have learned many useful things from the French, viz. that of having double commanders and lieutenants to our ships in time of war; as also encouragement to commanders and masters.

We also derive from the French the first invention of fireships, that is to say, the putting them in execution by men on board, that of Sir Francis Drake being only put adrift before the wind; and the multiplying of fireships, a late improvement thereof. Recollect what passed between the Dutch and us the beginning of the last wars upon the proposition from them for our mutual forbearing the use of fireships, which my Lord Sandwich is said to have withstood.

We have borrowed also from the French, and they I think from the Spaniards, the King's late institution of the Mathematical School.[1]

We have attempted also, though unsuccessfully, the imitating of the French in the enrolling of their seamen.

And it were to be wished our King were in condition of imitating that King in the practice he has lately taken up of bearing some seamen at his own charge in merchant-ships during peace, in order to the breeding and keeping so many the more seamen in employment against the time of war.[2]

Look over the general list of our captains and lieutenants; and see of how many several nations we have made officers, as well as ordinary seamen

[1] See note on p. 315 above. As the School was founded in 1673, this minute probably belongs to 1679 or 1680, soon after Pepys's first retirement: *cf.* note on p. 355 above.

[2] *Cf.* p. 362 below.

(both French and others), who must be thought instructed in all our methods. And among others (as I remember) Captain Hemskerke,[1] a Dutchman, built a vessel here for the King.

Q[*uaere*] whether Sir George Carteret did never serve the King of France at sea ? [2]

Memorandum, that upon our conjunction with France, Spragg [3] and Digby went over thither to visit their yards, stores, and ships ; and Monsieur de Seignelay,[4] Rabiniere,[5] and Desgorez did the like to ours, Monsieur Denise attending them. And had also storehouses allotted them in the King's own yard at Chatham, which they accordingly made use of all the war. *Q.* the like in other places ?

Collect and observe those many points of importance to the well-governing of our Navy wherein the methods and establishments of France exceed ours. Such as :

1. The King of France's well-payment of his seamen, and provision against the diverting of the moneys appointed thereto.

[1] See p. 203 above.

[2] When Sir George Carteret joined the Royalist exiles in France in 1652, he obtained a command in the French navy under the Duke of Vendome (*D.N.B.*, ix. 209).

[3] On February 2, 1673, Sir Edward Spragge sailed for France on a special mission to arrange a joint plan of naval operations (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1672–73, p. 510).

[4] Jean Baptiste Colbert (the younger), Marquis de Seignelay, was Louis XIV's Minister of Marine. He visited England in 1671 (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1671, p. 409) ; his report of the following year, an accurate and valuable document, is in Colenbrander, vol. ii.

[5] Probably M. des Rabesnières-Treillebois, who commanded the left wing of the French contingent at Southwold Bay, May 28, 1672. He died of his wounds and was buried in Rochester Cathedral.

2. The enrolling of his seamen, with all the circumstances thereof.

3. Provision for sick and wounded, and the widows of the dead.

4. Support of their families when they are at sea.

5. Precedence of commanders ascertained by name.

6. Fair provision of salaries for commanders.

7. Strictness to keep them within their several departments.

8. Schools for the bringing up of youth.

9. Provision of employment for them at the King's charge upon merchant ships during peace.

10. Severity of discipline and punishment.

11. The body of all the rules and establishments of his navy printed together and delivered to the officers.

12. A Secretary *de la Marine* one of his chief Ministers.

13. Not pressing the point of courage and bravoure[1] either upon single commanders or admirals where it does not stand with an apparent probability of success; expressed in the instance of Monsieur Destrees,[2] etc., and more remarkably in the frequent actions of De Ruyter.

[1] 'Bravour' or 'braveur' was in use in the 17th century as a term for valour.

[2] D'Estrées: see note on p. 317 above.

The want whereof has been very fatal to us, and makes it unsafe for any man of honour to be employed in our fleets.

Q[*uaere*] whether strictness of discipline makes not the practice of France in selling of all offices more advisable than men's obtaining them for nothing, as being an additional obligation upon them to execute them well.

Note that 3 considerable men-of-war of the King of France's (whereof the Conquerant is one) have lately foundered at sea; two whereof with their men entirely lost, the third said to have made shift to run ashore upon the coast of France and save something. Concerning which the King's [1] opinion is that they keeping them to their old practice of fastening all with iron as the Dutch do, and not with wooden tree-nails as the English do (concerning which the King of France makes a quaery to his Council *de Constructions*) this misfortune has arisen to the said ships from their being iron-sick.

Q[*uaere*] whether among the several species of ships and vessels now known in the world, and enumerated by Fournier,[2] Witsen,[3] Morisotus,[4] there be any that England can pretend to the invention of besides that of our row-barges, which the French call *ram-berges*? And even touching the *ram-berges*, it is to be considered whether it be not the same which the French have of late revived the use of, and we from them have now more lately borrowed in our galley-frigates.[5]

Q[*uaere*] how it appears that Queen Elizabeth did ever send to the King of France or some

[1] Probably Charles II.
[2] See note on p. 50 above.
[3] See note on p. 183 above.
[4] See note on p. 67 above.
[5] See p. 354 above.

other neighbour prince to forbid the building of any more ships,[1] as is generally reported ?

Our late Parliament itself admitted of four hundred thousand pounds as a competent sum to be spent by the King in peace for all occasions of the Navy[2]; and in Sir Thomas Littleton's Bill for Appropriation did propose but four hundred and fifty thousand pounds.[3] Such was the narrowness of their calculation for the Navy, even in their highest exclamations touching the ill state and importance of our Navy, and when most disposed to lessen the King's capacity for other expenses.

Q[*uaere*] what the ordinary annual charges of the Dutch and French navies are in time of peace ?

Our two Captains Hollands[4] went both away over to the Dutch and served under them, and consequently must have communicated all our methods to them. *Q.* their several histories.

Compare the different capacities of England and France in reference to their being furnished with naval stores of their own growth, without being forced to supply themselves from abroad. Wherein I doubt France will be found in the much better condition of the two.

The like comparison may be made of their several advantages and disadvantages of other kinds in reference to the business of the sea.

[1] See p. 315 above.

[2] The charge of the Navy from the Restoration to Christmas 1662 had been at the rate of £374,743 a year (Pepys's *Diary*, February 18, 1663).

[3] Sir Thomas Littleton had been joint Treasurer of the Navy from 1668 to 1671.

[4] See pp. 19, 342 above.

Our Parliament so little understood, or at least considered, the importance and charge of the Navy, as even in the midst of their earnestness for a war with France and their preparations of a fleet for it,[1] that they would not so much as advance credit, or admit of the sum of twenty or thirty odd thousand pounds demanded as a sum necessary to be presently [2] had towards it, though it was expressly told them that the King had it not; and indeed the work was forced to be gone about, and was done without it.

Two Dutchmen long and now in pension here, painters of all our shipping,[3] and knowing men.

Our Parliament ever decried looking into, and yet would complain for want of, accounts; and when offered, would choose to give by the lump, calling the Navy a lame arm to beg by.

Lewis tells me that upon the Commissioners of the Admiralty's [4] being upon a particular occasion prompted to observe some rules made in Mr. Pepys's time, that they answered that they would not be obliged by Mr. Pepys's rules.[5]

Hackluit [6] tells us of our supineness and want of intelligence in '88; of our being imposed upon from the Spaniards by a treaty; of 4 of our biggest

[1] This probably refers to the preparations against France in February 1678, which were eagerly supported by Parliament (Ranke, *History of England*, iv. 42).

[2] *I.e.* immediately.

[3] The two Dutch painters of marine subjects, Willem Van de Velde the elder, and his son, Willem Van de Velde the younger, were granted pensions of £100 a year by Charles II. The former died in 1693 and the latter in 1707.

[4] Probably the Commissioners of 1679–84.

[5] *Cf.* p. 237 above.

[6] The statements in the text are all made or implied in the account of the Spanish Armada given in Hakluyt's *Voyages* ('Everyman' Edition, ii. 369–401).

ships being ordered in but the very day before the Spanish fleet appeared upon our coasts; that it was the King of France's advice that made us fall to work in earnest; that the Spanish galliasses were good; that the Spanish Admiral was not at liberty to do what was best, but tied up by instructions; that Parma sent for pilots and shipwrights out of Italy; that our men were idling on shore at Plymouth when the Spanish fleet appeared; that the Spaniards were only upon the defensive.

It does not appear that the Spaniards suffered any of the evils they met with from any ignorance either in our shallows or the coast of Flanders, though their ships were very big.

Montgomery [1] takes notice and recommends to England's practice the use of the Spanish galliasses.

The little history of the 3 Plots in 12° [2] complains of our fleet's being unfurnished with powder in '88; or else the account of it in my miscellaneous Sea Tract.[3]

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] tells me that South-[amp]ton was anciently supported principally by Italians residing and trading there.[2]

Improve the King's [4] present invention of applying 2 masts to a yacht.

The King [4] tells me that the draughts given him by of my Lord of Warwick's ship [5] are good for nothing; and yet upon my objecting it to him, does confess that our ships have ever been, or at least esteemed, better than any other.

[1] See note 1 on p. 220 above.
[2] *Cf.* p. 220 above.
[3] See note 2 on p. 220 above.
[4] Presumably Charles II.
[5] See note on p. 223 above.

And further acknowledges, upon my asking it, that he believes there is little room at this day left for improving our built [1] in the bodies of ships, though in some small matters of convenience there may.

Trinity House tells me that they have made their application to the King that the coast of England may be generally surveyed anew, they appearing universally to be laid down false, and particularly Scilly 10 minutes more north than it ought to be ; by which our ships have been always to this day exposed to ruin, and infinitely more have miscarried than were ever heard of to have done so. And that this has arisen from our having still depended and governed ourselves by the Dutch draughts ; and so the King tells them and they confess.

The inhabitants of the Isle of Wight do, in their petition against Trinity House touching the duty upon the Scilly light, call that place the chief port of England ; and that the only profit left them is from strangers coming in thither to revictual.

And Tr[inity] H[ouse] notes that foreigners do chiefly come in thither.

Q[*uaere*] by what right the Governor of that place challenges the duty of anchorage there, and the ground and inhumanity of merchant-ships forfeiting their best bower cable there and in the Downs if they do but touch on ground, although they come off very clear.[2]

Old Captain Nichols or young (but I think the latter) told us that the pilots of Venice will not

[1] See note on p. 18 above. [2] See p. 221 above.

come on board our merchant-ships, though it be the worst place in the world to go in at, but will go before them in their boats sounding with their poles, and though they can carry through deeper water, yet they will give you no more than just a ship draws, and this only to keep the pilotage secret.[1]

And that everywhere pilots are paid for, though you use none ; and strangers are made to do the like here.

They say, and particularly Sir John Narbrough, that now lights are up they must be continued so, or our navigation must cease, and that they are evidently set up for the benefit of strangers as well as ourselves, as also why do they pay to them, and generally more than we.[1]

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] speaks of a model of the Royal Charles shewn at a public-house, viz., the Three Pigeons at Ratcliffe.

Sir William Dugdale[2] tells me that to this day (as he has heard) the lands in some parts of Lincolnshire are butted and bounded[3] to the northward by Denmark.[1]

The light upon Scilly is of more use to the Dutch than us, and it is thought would have been contributed to by them if demanded, they being supposed to have lost more ships for want of it than we ; and upon experiment it appears that

[1] *Cf.* p. 222 above.

[2] As Sir William Dugdale, Garter King-at-Arms, died in 1686, these minutes evidently belong to the period of Pepys's first retirement (1679–84) and are therefore out of order.

[3] ' Butted and bounded ' is a conveyancing phrase now obsolete. To ' butt ' is to mark out limits lengthwise.

this light serves as well to bring ships in by night as by day.

Read *Le Parfait Négociant*,[1] printed in 1675, and particularly the chapter about the French being the first discoverers of the Indies.

How late is our first Admiral[2] in the list? And is he not since our pretence to the Dominion of the Sea?

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] tells me that besides Mr. Day that went to Denmark in the late times, one Robin was sent thither by the last King,[3] by the same token that he would have carried Sir John Tippetts[4] (who was then a young man) along with him.

The King tells me from Sir George Carteret's[5] relation that a Frenchman first invented that manner of built,[6] and proposed it to the late King, and meeting with no entertainment, went over to Dunkirk and there was entertained; and from thence we were glad to learn our building of frigates, the first whereof was the Warwick (whose original draught the King has now by him) and then the Constant Warwick.[7]

Q[*uaere*] the meaning of the Admiral of Castile?

My known care in obliging captains to keep journals.[8]

[1] See note on p. 222 above.

[2] See note on p. 233 above.

[3] Charles I.

[4] On Sir John Tippetts see note on p. 193 above. He was appointed master-shipwright at Portsmouth in August 1660 (Duckett, p. 125), so may very well have been a young man in the reign of Charles I.

[5] See note 3 on p. 223 above.

[6] See note on p. 18 above.

[7] See note 5 on p. 223 above.

[8] There are a good many communications from the Secretary of the Admiralty to commanders, requiring them to send up their journals, among Pepys's *Admiralty Letters*, 1673–79.

And my known encouraging the Blue-Coat boys to do the like. Appeal to Captain Proud,[1] etc.

Very good matter to be found in the King's grant to Seller's new undertaking, 1679.[2]

The multitude of English printed books of navigation collected for me by Mr. Seller and Mr. Fisher.

Witsen[3] also reproaches his countrymen with their being behind us therein.

Lepanto.[4]

Of the 4 discoverers, we the last and least.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s having memorials given him to enquire after in Holland and France,[5] and his giving Sir Joseph Williamson[6] an account of them.

Collect from Mr. Seller a list of sea-charts and books of navigation printed in English, shewing how the books of charts, under several titles, borrow all from Waggener.[7]

Collect copies of all petitions and grants for sea-lights and marks.

The King's story about the St. Malo's-man's offering the old King to build a frigate by Sir

[1] Perhaps the Captain John Prowd referred to in the *Diary*, July 23, 1667.

[2] See note on p. 223 above. [3] See note on p. 183 above.

[4] At the end of 1681 Pepys was enquiring of Evelyn about the battle of Lepanto, and received from him a print of it (*Private Correspondence*, i. 17, 20).

[5] Probably on the occasion of Deane's visit to France in 1675 : see note on p. 239 above.

[6] See note on p. 78 above.

[7] See note on p. 12 above.

George Carteret's hand ;[1] but being discouraged by the then Officers of the Navy, he went over to Dunkirk and was entertained there. His proposal to the King was to build a ship of 30 guns to outsail any ship the King had.[2]

My contrary collections visible by

Mr. Blathwayte.[3]

Mr. Brisbane.[4]

Sir Joseph Williamson and Everson.[5]

My sending to Brest.

My own going into Holland.[6]

My supplying myself with all books, and particularly *Les Ordonnances.*[7]

My presenting to the Parliament states of foreign fleets,[8] getting them from my Lord Allington,[9] etc.

Ditto of Sir A[nthony] D[eane].

Read the Titles and Epistles of all naval printed books.

[1] See p. 369 above. [2] *Cf.* p. 224 above.

[3] On Mr. William Blathwayt see note on p. 20 above.

[4] See note on p. 257 above.

[5] Soon after his appointment as a Secretary of State in June, 1674, Sir Joseph Williamson took special charge of English relations with the United Provinces (*D.N.B.*, lxii. 4). 'Everson' is probably the Dutch Admiral Evertsen.

[6] In 1669.

[7] There are three sets of *Ordonnances* in the Pepysian Library: 'Ordonnances de Louis XIV pour les Armées Navales et Arcenaux de Marine' [No. 693]; 'Code-Louis, ou la grande Conférence des Ordonnances de France,' 3 vols. [Nos. 2673–5]; and 'Ordonnances de Louis XIV pour la Construction des Vaisseaux' [No. 1907].

[8] In 1675 and 1677 : they are printed in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 46 and 52.

[9] The Earl of Arlington had been a Secretary of State from 1662 to 1674.

Colonel Legg[1] gives me an account of the new-invented guns not being more useful than the old. Observe the 3 partners in the profits thereof to be the Earl of Shaftsbury (the then Lord Chancellor),[2] the Prince,[3] and the then Master of the Ordnance.[4] That the King pays 60*l.* a ton, and has paid 52,000*l.*, whereas the founder has offered them to Legg at 30*l.* odd money. *Q.* more particulars about this matter, and the Prince's lately desiring the King to give them leave to carry the invention beyond sea, and the King's answer thereto.[5]

The Turks came lately as high as Beachy.[5]

We were at the highest above our neighbours in sea-matters and in building of ships, and our best builders were advised with, when that by-law was made. *Q.* whether Hatton was not Lord Chancellor,[6] and who confirmed it? *Memorandum*, that I have forgot what this by-law means; but suppose it the by-law of the Shipwrights' Company forbidding their employing any foreigner in their work.[7]

[1] Colonel George Legge was created Baron Dartmouth in 1682, so this minute must be of an earlier date. He had been Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance since 1672.

[2] Shaftesbury was Lord Chancellor from 1672 to 1673.

[3] On Prince Rupert's interest in guns, see note on p. 51 above.

[4] Sir Thomas Chicheley was Master-General of the Ordnance from 1670 to 1674.

[5] *Cf.* p. 225 above.

[6] Sir Christopher Hatton was Lord Chancellor 1587–91.

[7] Pepys may be thinking of a clause in the charter of May 6, 1612, granted to the Shipwrights' Company, forbidding the communication to aliens 'the secrets of the said trade, art, or mystery, or the special manner of our English building or new making of ships,' and the taking of 'any alien or stranger' as 'apprentice or servant' (W. G. Perrin, *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, pp. 191–2).

Enquire of the clerks of the checque whether we have not had strangers of all nations working in our yards; nay, and have frequently pressed strangers to serve at sea till released by their Ambassadors.

How little mathematic is required or to be found among our best shipwrights.

How ships of the worst appearance are often found to prove good sailers, without any reason to be assigned for it.[1]

Did no strangers serve among our ships in '88; and did not Queen Elizabeth ever admit the conjunction of the force of Henry the 4th[2] or any other foreign assistance at sea, either then or at any other time, nor did any of her predecessors?

Was there not ignorance more than knowledge, courage, or force, in our first assuming to ourselves the Dominion of the Sea; and see what time it was, comparing the circumstances of that time?

How many ages were both the coasts of England and France in one hand; and did we carry away all their knowledge from them when France drove us from thence?[1]

And consider the charge drawn upon us by our Acts of Parliament asserting this Dominion

See Sir Phil. Meadows's Discourse[3] mentioning our taking leave from strangers to fish, and what is to be inferred from it.

[1] *Cf.* p. 226 above.
[2] Henry IV of France.
[3] See note on p. 3 above.

Remember that in my report to the Parliament in 1675 I gave them a particular account by name of the French and Dutch naval force compared with ours ; [1] shewing how they severally outvied us. Wherein I enough did my part as a friend to England, however they did theirs.

Enquire and consider what we have of any art or trade, either of English invention or growth, that deserves to be or is forbidden to be published to strangers.

The like of what real advantages of any kind we have over France, either as to power or knowledge in sea-affairs.

Sir A[nthony] D[eane] drew up the scantlings of the new ships,[2] which are the best ships in the world.

Improve the words of Chaucer's seaman.[3]

Recollect Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s and mine own particular acts of service in the Navy, especially about 1675, and particularly Christ's Hospital, where he has given a model and I time, discourse, and instruments.[4]

Remember my letter to Brisbane [5] about

[1] See note on p. 227 above.

[2] *I.e.* those built under the Act of 1677 : see note on p. 13 above.

[3] The lines in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* : ' A shipman was ther, woned fer by West,' whose ' barge ycleped was the Magdelaine.'

[4] In 1705 there were models of two full-rigged ships in the Mathematical School (E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, p. 123) : one of these may have been Deane's gift. On the activities of Pepys in connexion with the Hospital see J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, pp. 228–9, 255–6, 275–6.

[5] See note on p. 257 above.

Bordereaux,[1] etc., and another to Sir Joseph Williamson,[2] about queries for Brest.

Faults found in King James's and even in Queen Elizabeth's time; and yet the old Officers restored.[3]

Remember the complaints of our sea-matters in the *Process of the Libel*.[4]

Art is not an advantage particular to us, it being common to all other nations equal to us, but labour and experience; this making men diligent and painful, while art makes them rather idle, proud, and opiniatre.[5] And experience it is we must boast of at sea, or nothing.[6]

More artists miscarry at sea (through their idleness and presumption) than men of experience less knowing.

The old English Sea-Rutter but a translation out of French.[7]

Mr. Gibson[8] tells me of this nation's being heretofore used to be much troubled with pirates.

Fournier[9] upon the word *Pirate* tells us of a certain English king who employed pirates against his enemies.

[1] Bordeaux. [2] See note on p. 78 above.

[3] A Commission of enquiry sat in January 1584 (Oppenheim, p. 147), when Sir John Hawkyns was Treasurer and Comptroller of the Navy. Under James I there was a Commission in 1608, but the reference is to the Commission of 1618, which superseded the Principal Officers until February 1628, when they were restored (*ib.* p. 279).

[4] See note 1 on p. 228 above.

[5] Stubborn in opinion, opinionated. [6] *Cf.* p. 228 above.

[7] See note 3 on p. 228 above. [8] See note on p. 23 above.

[9] See note on p. 50 above.

Fournier's notes touching *Le Droit de Brief*.[1]

What want of knowledge did our commanders observe among the French when in conjunction with our fleet in 1672; and how could they forget all by '75?

How have the King and Duke[2] and our commanders considered of, or ever reflected upon, the management of '88, as to the Spaniards or our discovering any ignorance therein, and whether not we as much as they?

Q[uaere] has there been any of the Russels famous at sea, and whether in '88 or no?[3]

May 26th, '80. Attending upon [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] with the Duchess dining with my Lord St. Albans,[4] and Mr. Touchett[5] sitting by me at my Lord's table, he advised me to take care of myself till the 29th instant, the King's birthday, were over; telling me that that day 12 months he dined in Essex at my Lord Grey's,[6] where after dinner many gentlemen of the country of his crew being there, and among the rest Mr. Mildmay[7]

[1] See note on p. 228 above.

[2] Charles II and James, Duke of York.

[3] John Russell, first Earl of Bedford, was Lord High Admiral 1540–42, but he was a soldier rather than a sailor; and Sir William Russell was Treasurer of the Navy 1618–27, and again in 1639 as a colleague of Sir Harry Vane the younger, but he was interested in trade, and was a member of merchant companies.

[4] Henry Jermyn, the patron of the poet Cowley, had been created Earl of St. Albans in 1660. His seat was at Rushbrooke Park, near Bury St. Edmunds. He was a great gambler, and both Pepys and Evelyn refer in their diaries to his love of play.

[5] Touchet was the family name of the Earls of Castlehaven.

[6] Probably Ford Grey, third Baron Grey of Warke. The family had an estate at Gosfield, Essex, and his grandmother was a daughter of German Ireton, of Ireton, Derbyshire, so 'Mr. Ireton' was probably a relative.

[7] The Mildmay family had an estate at Woodham Walter, in Essex.

and Ireton,[1] my Lord Grey gave him two guineas to give him twenty in case and were not before that day 12 months.[2]

Has Sir Thomas Gresham [3] or any other at any time established a Navigation Lecture in England?

See how few sea-ports in England had two burgesses to serve them in Parliament qualified like Sir A[nthony] D[eane] and me.[4]

Have not all the King's engineers [5] for these 20 years been strangers, and who?

The folly and malice of him that would infer my being of the French faction from my being able to give the Parliament an account of their fleet.[6]

And is it probable, if so much secrecy lies in a list of ships, they would put so much confidence in me in September that had presented the Parliament of England unasked with a list of theirs but in the April before? [7]

We have frequently heretofore in my Collection of old Sea-Tracts,[8] Sea-Rutter,[9] and Ashley's Waggener,[10] owned our ignorance in sea-affairs, as also appears in our never having had any Lectures

[1] See note 6 on p. 376 above.

[2] These are all blanks in the MS.

[3] See note on p. 41 above. *Cf.* also the Epistle Dedicatory in the 1st volume of the 2nd edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1598).

[4] See note on p. 229 above.

[5] MS. 'engeniers.'

[6] See p. 227 above.

[7] Pepys presented this list to the House of Commons on April 24, 1675 (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 46). The charges brought against him in 1679 related to a treasonable correspondence with France when Deane was there in August and September 1675.

[8] See note on p. 220 above.

[9] See note on p. 228 above.

[10] See note on p. 19 above.

for Navigation; our first and only Grand Pilot of England, Sebastian Cabot,[1] being a stranger; our first discoveries in the West Indies to have been made by his father by a patent from Henry the 7th;[2] his pension and place of Pilot soon vanished, and he returned to Spain, and all just before '88;[3] we being beholden for our maps, as Burrows[4] says, to the Spaniards and Portugueses; and Sir Francis Drake's offer of £20 per annum towards a Navigation Lecture made ineffectual for want of 20*l.* more, and this notwithstanding especial application made by R[ichard H[akluyt] to Sir Philip Sidney in an epistle on that behalf.[5]

Gather instances of the little respect paid in England to the services of its sea-officers; nothing done in honour of their memory, very little provision made for their families, and the little that is, very ill paid.

D[itto] Trinquilo's spies to discover the weakness of the island.[6]

A bishop martyred for asserting the Antipodes.

[1] See note on p. 229 above.

[2] A patent for exploration was granted on March 5, 1496, to John Cabot and his three sons, and another on February 3, 1498, to John Cabot alone. There is a reference to the former in the Preface to the first edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

[3] Sebastian Cabot was deprived of half his pension in 1557, just after King Philip's entry into London, possibly as a penalty for his withdrawing himself from the service of Spain. He died in the same year, but there is no record of the place of his death (*D.N.B.*, viii. 170).

[4] On William Borough the navigator see note on p. 229 above.

[5] See p. 230 above. The reference is to the Epistle Dedicatory of *Divers Voyages* (1582). It is among Pepys's *Sea-Tracts* (i. 725).

[6] See p. 230 above. There was an Italian diplomatist of the 16th century named Andronico Tranquillo.

Genebelli [1] built the block-houses at Gravesend in '88, and first used fireboats at Antwerp. *Vide* Hackluit's *Voyages.*

Queen Elizabeth's treatment of the Papists in '88 ; and compare the English and French modern Sea-Rutters [2] with the old ones.

Sir Joseph Williamson denies Queen Elizabeth's ever forbidding the King of France to build ships,[3] and rectifies the tradition about returning subsidies given by Parliament.

Imprudent orders, and not want of seamanship, ruined the Spaniards in '88,[4] and that King said he designed not to fight against Heaven, but men.

Q[*uaere*] by whom and when the bow-line was invented ; whether not by the Spaniards ? *Vide* Cortes's Epistle to the Emperor.[4]

Q[*uaere*] the proof of the new engine in the River for towing of ships.[4]

Copy the picture of the ships in the Galleries at Whitehall.

Few English engineers.[5]

History of the double-bottomed vessels.[6]

Englishmen backward in embracing foreign inventions or encouraging new of our own : instance in lead-sheathing.[7]

Q[*uaere*] the new invention of fire-hearths.[8]

[1] See note 4 on p. 230 above.
[2] See note on p. 228 above.
[3] See p. 230 above.
[4] See p. 231 above.
[5] MS. ' engeniers.'
[6] See note on p. 288 above.
[7] See note on p. 176 above.
[8] See note on p. 231 above.

The history of Henry the 8th's leather guns.[1]

Sir Samuel Moreland's pumps.[2]

And his method of traversing of great guns.[3]

We want a Secretary-Marine, which the French have.

Consult all my books of voyages and navigation by overlooking their indexes.

Parliament tapestry in honour of our heroes in '88.

One thousand five hundred and eighty-eight a surprise, and the block-houses at Gravesend not built till that very year, and then by a stranger.[4]

Their public intelligence seems very imperfect at that time.

Spaniards supposed to know the River of Thames; or why were those houses built there?

No settled offices for the Admiralty or Navy for recording of books and papers.

Seamen after '88 (*vide* the Journal) were fain to beg up and down the streets, so as both Houses of Parliament relieved them by a collection; and the seamen driven to institute out of their own wages the Chest at Chatham,[5] which is now also falling.

The Algerines give their seamen, though slaves, two shares, while the soldiers have but one.

[1] See p. 231 above. [2] See note on p. 231 above.

[3] On February 19, 1687, Morland was corresponding with Pepys about new carriages for naval guns (Lord Braybrooke's 1854 edition of the *Diary*, iv. 235); but this is some years after the probable date of this Minute.

[4] See pp. 230 and 379 above. [5] See note on p. 232 above.

Our several attempts about the Fishery, all unsuccessful.

Never a man at this day fit to be Secretary of the Admiralty or Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, and few capable of judging whether this be true or no; so little the encouragement provided for that office.[1]

Imperfection of our martial sea-laws.

The old encouragements to buildings in Wapping lately denied; and if it had not been for me, the provision for[2] maintaining of decayed seamen from Trinity House[3] had been swallowed up by the watermen.

Nor could I in the last tax[4] get the Trinity House or the Chest at Chatham excused, though others were.

Nor the lighthouses for the benefit of the poor in the Bill about levying of money without Parliament.[5]

Small sums allotted out of the Customs for the Navy by Queen Elizabeth: *vide* Mr. Camden.

What is the ordinary charge of the King of France's navy?

Examine the *Cabala of Letters*.[6]

[1] On Pepys's own substantial profits in these offices see J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, pp. 152–78 and 227.

[2] MS. 'to,' probably by confusion with 'provision to maintain.'

[3] In 1673 the Trinity House was maintaining 39 alms-people' at Deptford (Rawlinson MSS., A. 182, f. 502), and a paper of the same year contains an account of the method of distributing the charities of the House (*ib.* A. 180, f. 94).

[4] 29 & 30 Car. II, c. 1 (1677), an Act for raising money for a war against France, established a Poll Tax in general terms, without either of the exemptions referred to.

[5] See p. 233 above.

[6] See note on p. 151 above.

What seamen to be found in the list of our Admirals since it became a great office ? [1]

When began [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] his seamanship ? [2]

When and how came Henry the 8th to begin his constitution of a Navy Royal ? [3]

When and what were the first great ships built by the Crown ? [3]

Present a state of ship-timber in England as to plenty and price.

Mr. Evelyn in discourse tells me that want of timber has been always complained of in England.[4]

History of great guns in England.

Note passages in Parliament Journals and Sir Walter Raleigh about it.

Master-Attendants : examine the Great Wardrobe for their liveries.[5]

Note also their having a place in the King's public processions, and none of the officers of the Navy else.

Q[*uaere*] whether we had any beacons upon our coast in Queen Elizabeth's time ; and whether

[1] See p. 233 above.

[2] On September 19, 1649, when he was sixteen years old, James accompanied Prince Charles to Jersey, and ' shewed some seamanship on the occasion ' (*D.N.B.*, xxix. 181).

[3] On this see M. Oppenheim, *The Administration of the Royal Navy* 1509–1660.

[4] On the scarcity of timber in England see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 50 *n.*

[5] See note on p. 234 above.

were or were not, they could never imply anything but an apprehension of being invaded.

The ships built by the Dutch for France were after their own Dutch built,[1] some of which were in the French fleet here, but not good sailers, the French (like us) not making the most of them, not minding their trim, as not being indeed satisfied with their accommodation.

Our Royal Sovereign is said to have first provoked Cardinal de Richelieu to build great ships in France, and the like to other princes. Note too (*Gazette* No. 2354) that the King of Spain is said to have a ship of this name, viz. Sovereign of the Seas.[2]

About 30 years ago Sir Thomas Gould[3] is said to have broken up a great French ship of three decks,—Sir A[nthony] D[eane]'s note.

He tells me also that the East India Company built ten 2nd-rate ships, viz. the Guardland, etc., upon the customs that should arise from their trade. *Q.* the names of all the ships.

Speak with Sir Richard Haddock[4] about the French getting and keeping the wind of our fleet.

Q[*uaere*] what may be argued from Henry 8th's old list of the ships of England ?

[1] See note on p. 18 above.

[2] The Sovereign of the Seas was built in 1637, and rebuilt in 1659 and 1685. At the last date her name was changed to the Sovereign Royal and under this she appears in Pepys's Register of Ships (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 266).

[3] Sir Thomas Gold was a merchant and shipowner ; he had been knighted as Sheriff of the City of London in 1675.

[4] See note on p. 182 above.

In order to the better judging the general naval force of our ancestors[1] when the warrants sent out for arresting of ships for the service of the Crown extended commonly from those of 100 to 200 tons at the highest, collect examples of the low employments whereto we at this day put vessels of those burthens, and what our biggest lighters open and close, western barges, etc., do now-a-days ordinarily amount to in tonnage.

Ditto,—what are the longest voyages made at this day by our smallest vessels ?

Examine very well at the Prefaces to the Acts for Tonnage and Poundage from all times backwards, and particularly those quoted by Selden or any other, or on any other subject, to prove our Parliament's asserting our Sea Dominion; most of those Public Acts of ours which have hitherto occurred amounting to nothing more than for the keeping the sea safe. As in that of the 20th of Henry 6,[2] page 105.

Mr. Hewer tells me, January 19, 1693–4, that the Navy Board do now give 7*l.* a load for East Country plank.

Mr Foley[3] told him and me this session of Parliament, January 1693–4, that upon a proposition then on foot at Court of moving the Parliament to give money to build some more great ships, he did tell the Lords of the Treasury

[1] MS. 'auncestors.'

[2] 20 Henry VI, c. 1 and c. 11, both refer to the safety of the sea and the protection of the merchant, but neither makes any claim to Sea Dominion.

[3] Mr. Paul Foley, M.P. for Hereford, had been appointed a Commissioner of Public Accounts on December 26, 1690. From 1695 to 1698 he was Speaker of the House of Commons.

that the Navy Officers had themselves told him and his fellow Commissioners for Accounts that there could not be any more great ships built by them, for they could not proceed as they should do upon the ships already ordered by Parliament to be built and money provided for them, for want of timber.

What fish are there now to be found ordinarily in our seas to justify Caesar's report and Mr. Selden's application of it touching the Britons making handles for their swords of fishes' bones ? [1]

What use may be made of Cicero's expression touching Pompey's having a mind to make him *orae maritimae episcopum*,—In *Epist. ad Atticum.*

France is, I think, allowed even by Spelman and Selden to have had a standing Admiral before England, though not much. *Q.* and apply it.

Resort, for help towards the explaining the old French names of our English ports extant in the ancient treaties between France and us, to Hackluit's[2] and Humphreys's[3] Fleet of King Edward 3rd, shewing the ports from whence the ships thereof were severally fitted.

Observe (in relation to the paragraph newly entered [4] touching the common style of our Acts for Tonnage and Poundage) that the same style is most expressly continued down to the 12th

[1] 'But their use of frequent fishing . . . may be collected upon this ground, that the better and more civil sort of them were wont to embellish the hilts of their swords with teeth of the bigger fishes' (*Mare Clausum*, Bk. ii. c. 2 (p. 192 in the edition of 1652)).

[2] 'The roll of the huge fleet of Edward the third before Calice,' printed in Hakluyt's *Voyages* ('Everyman' Edition, i. 96–9). It is of doubtful authority.

[3] See note 3 on p. 276 above.

[4] On p. 384 above.

of King Charles 1st in most ample words. *Q.* whether none later?

If proverbs (as they do) speak the genius of a nation, nobody would take us for a sea people; we having so few that are borrowed from anything of the sea. *Q.* the number?

April 27th, 1694. My Lord Clarendon,[1] with other company, dining with me this day, took occasion from the picture of my Lord Sandwich's last misfortune[2] hanging in my parlour, to enter into talk of that great man, testifying great honour to his memory, and in particular telling us of my Lord Sandwich's discourse to him, my Lord Burlington,[3] his brother my Lord Rochester,[4] walking in the garden (I take it, at my Lord Burlington's), where they dined together just before his last going to sea, when their discourse [falling] upon the preparations for that summer's campaign[5] there, and what was to be expected from it, his Lordship, then walking with his hands one upon the shoulder of Charles Harbord[6] and the other upon Clem. Cotterel's (for his greater ease, being then grown somewhat goutish or otherwise unwieldy), told the company, by way of reflection upon the then management of our sea-affairs,

[1] Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was the elder son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and his successor in title. He was an intimate friend of Pepys (see his *Private Correspondence*).

[2] Pepys's kinsman and patron, Edward Mountagu, first Earl of Sandwich, was burnt with his ship, the Royal James, at the battle of Southwold Bay on May 28, 1672.

[3] Richard Boyle, who had succeeded his father as Earl of Cork in 1643, was created Earl of Burlington in 1664. He lived until 1698.

[4] Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, was Lord Chancellor Clarendon's younger son.

[5] MS. 'campagne.'

[6] Sir Charles Harbord was first lieutenant of the Royal James, and perished in her.

that though he was then Vice-Admiral of England and Admiral of the Narrow Seas, yet he knew no more of what was to be done that summer at sea than any of them or any other that knew nothing at all of it ; ' This only I know, that I will die, and these 2 boys ' (meaning Harbord and Cotterel) ' will die with me.' As accordingly they did, most honourably. Which having been thus recounted by my Lord Clarendon, led him to run further into the history and commendation of this Lord, in particular of the advances he had made towards the serving and restoring of the King while Admiral of Cromwell's fleet in the Sound, and the papers and transactions that had then passed between the King and him by the means of Sir Samuel Morland, Ned Mountagu of Boughton, and the intercourse of Captain Whetstone (Cromwell's own nephew) while he was at Copenhagen ; [1] his Lordship promising me to look up and put into my hands the very original papers passing on this occasion between them, which he tells me he is very sure of his having now in custody.

[2] Anno 1246, *Reg. Henrici Tertii* 30°. In the letter of complaint sent to the Pope from all the States of England (there reckoned up) the men

[1] Lord Sandwich, then Admiral Edward Mountagu, was sent to the Sound in June 1659 to arrange a peace between Sweden and Denmark, and it was then that he opened communications with the exiled King. We learn from Pepys himself that Mountagu employed Whetstone to carry letters to Charles II from the Sound (*Diary*, March 8, 1662–3) ; and that in April 1660 his cousin Edward Mountagu, the eldest son of the second Baron Mountagu of Boughton, was acting as a medium of communication between the Admiral in the Downs and the King (*ib.* April 18, 20, and 21, 1660). It is also known that in May 1660 Morland the inventor, Pepys's old Tutor at Magdalene, carried some important letters to Charles II at Breda.

[2] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

of the Cinque Ports are ranked next after the *barones, proceres, et magnates totius regni,* under the style of *nobiles portuum maris habitatores*; and then comes *necnon et clerus et populus universus salutem, etc.*—Matthew Paris, page 700.[1]

[2] Enquire after the method of King Charles the 2nd's institution of the Observatory at Greenwich,[3] and the design and terms of it with respect to navigation.

[2] Mr. Hunter [4] tells me that Trinity House itself complains of Collins's ill performance of his Book of Carts ; [5] and yet he dedicates it to them as well as to the King. *Q.* what passed at that Board (myself present) when the Duke of Grafton [6] would have him their hydrographer ? And what reception the book had from them when he presented it to them ? And note how soon the Dutch have copied the French *Neptune,*[7] and not his.

[2] Reflect upon the Act passed at the session of Parliament held in winter 1693, 5 & 6 W. & M., for the better discipline of the Navy,[8] to find the

[1] *Chronica Majora* (ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series), iv. 533.

[2] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[3] In 1674 Sir Jonas Moore the mathematician obtained from Charles II the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and Pepys's *Admiralty Journal* refers to it on February 12, 1676, as 'the observatory now in building by his Majesty in his park at Greenwich' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 280).

[4] See note on p. 289 above.

[5] See note on p. 324 above. The form 'cart' for 'chart' is occasionally found.

[6] See note on p. 210 above.

[7] See note on p. 316 above.

[8] By this Act offences against the Naval Discipl ine Act o 1661 (13 Car. II, st. i. c. 9) were to be tried henceforth in the King's Bench at Westminster Hall, or before Justices of Oyer and Terminer, according to the Common Law.

scope of it, by which the marine crimes triable before by a court-martial are made triable in Westminster Hall, to the manifest diminution of the power and jurisdiction of the Lord Admiral; and yet not one word spoke to it in Parliament by any of the Admiralty there, nor so much as the purport of it seeming to be known to them or the Navy Officers, by the latter's discourse to me thereon at our Ascension dinner in Crutched Friars [1] 1694; when sending for the Act I first shewed them that (contrary [to] what they told me they had till then believed, and the Commissioners of the Admiralty some of them to their knowledge did so too by their late discourse thereof to them) the election of the course wherein a criminal shall be tried, whether [2] at sea as now, or by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, or in Westminster Hall, is not left to the Admiral, nor indeed any else there said; and so seems to me a useless, unintelligible Act. *Q.* therefore concerning it of Mr. Foley,[3] who brought it in, that I may be able to discern to whose benefit, and how it answers its title of bettering the discipline of the Navy.

[4] Examine my annexed paper of references [5] for naval extracts.

Note—That the place of the Admiral of Denmark is the fifth among the Officers of the Crown there: *vide* the printed account of Denmark 1694.[6]

[1] The Navy Office was in the parish of Crutched Friars (*Fratres Sanctae Crucis*).

[2] MS. 'whither.'

[3] See note on p. 384 above.

[4] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[5] See Appendix I, pp. 429 to 446 below.

[6] *An Account of Denmark as it was in the year* 1692, published in 1694 by Robert, first Viscount Molesworth, who was envoy extraordinary at Copenhagen from 1692 to 1694.

It may serve as one instance among many of the backwardness of England (in comparison of France) in all things relating to the improvement of the science and practice of Navigation, to observe that no man of our nation (that I know of) has ever writ anything like a philosopher or mathematician touching the theory of the structure and application of sails for the giving a ship's body way in the water, like that which was published by a Frenchman in the year 1689 under the title *La Théorie de la Manœuvre des Vaisseaux, à Paris, chez Estienne Michallet, premier Imprimeur du Roy, rue S. Jacques, à l'image S. Paul, De l'expres commandement de sa Majestê.*[1]

Mr. Man observed lately to me in discourse the inconsiderable number of shot appearing in the sides and masts of the Prince, as she was sent in by Shovell after Russell's action at La Hogue as unable to keep the sea till repaired, compared with the condition he knew her to be in after a battle under the Duke.[2]

He took occasion from hence of giving me an account of the true foundation of Shovell's being first taken notice of by the Duke when servant (I think) to Sir John Narbrough,[3] upon an accident relating to a fox which the Duke had on board his ship, called Teague. The story worth taking from him afresh and remembering.

[1] By D'Eliçagaray Bernard Renau (1652–1719), naval architect, a native of Béarn.

[2] The Prince was the flagship of the Duke of York at the battle of Southwold Bay on May 28, 1672.

[3] Sir Clowdisley Shovell was the son of a gentleman of property in Norfolk. He first went to sea in 1664 under Sir Christopher Myngs, and after his death attached himself to Sir John Narbrough. It is probable that both Myngs and Narbrough were his kinsmen.

I have bespoke of Mr. Man the procuring me from his son (who was then in the fleet) a true and minute account of my Lord Dartmouth's misfortune in his conduct thereof, and the fatal consequences of it.[1]

Compare the sea and land measures of England, Ireland, and Scotland with those of France, Holland, and Spain, both as to their contents and water-lines.[2]

Mr. Evelyn, from the rudeness of Sir John Narbrough's drawings extant in the Book of Voyages I sent him,[3] observes to me the expectations he has of the effects of our mathematical boys' educations in Christ's Hospital[4] upon that head, and gives me a very proper hint towards illustrating the usefulness of drawing in a navigator[5] from the scandalous instances of the want of it visible in Sir John Narbrough's original draught he gave me of the Magellan Streights, and the drawings therein of men and beasts done by his own hand.

[6] Examine Queen Elizabeth's establishment of the church, school, etc., at Westminster, wherein (I am told) provision is made for soldiers but none for seamen.

[7] Not only our first English translation and

[1] See note on p. 273 above.

[2] *Cf.* Thornton's work referred to in note 7 on p. 324 above.

[3] This may have been the copy of Narbrough's Journal of his voyages in the Fairfax and the St. Michael, 1672 and 1673, now in the Pepysian Library. The text is illustrated by charts and coloured drawings.

[4] See note on p. 315 above.

[5] For Pepys's views on the value of drawing, see his *Private Correspondence*, ii. 110–11.

[6] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

pretended improvement of Waggoner [1] was graved in Holland, but the very plates of the '88 action dedicated to our Admiral, the Lord Nottingham (and that also wrote by an Italian), and, which is more, the very designs of our '88 hangings (which adorn our Parliament Chamber and Banqueting House) was designed and drawn by Vroome, a Dutchman,[2] *vide* the Lives of the Painters printed about 1693 or 4[3]; and for the rest, examine the plates, comparing them with Saxton's first maps,[4] graved all by foreigners.

[5] Reflect upon the use to be made of Calais (and another port near it) being reckoned among the reserved ports of England, covenanted by name for in the treaty between Louis 11th and our Edward 4th, for their franchises being preserved, and nothing of them mentioned in King James 1st's proclamation describing the Chambers of England.[6]

[5] Consult well Lambert's *Perambulation of Kent*,[7] and particularly his beacon-chart, com-

[1] See note on p. 12 above.

[2] These tapestry hangings (10 pieces), made for Howard by Spiering from the designs of Hendrick Cornelius Vroom, were sold by Howard to James I. They were burnt in the House of Lords fire in 1834, but fortunately they had been engraved by John Pine, from drawings by C. Lempriere, in 1739.

[3] It is not easy to identify this work. William Aglionby published *Lives* in 1685; but the English translation of Roger de Piles did not appear until 1706. The reference may be to the French edition.

[4] See note on p. 305 above.

[5] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[6] In March 1605 James I determined the limits of the 'King's Chambers' by a jury of experts appointed by Trinity House, and in a proclamation of March 1 of that year he forbade hostilities within the limits of his jurisdiction (T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 9, 119, 753, where, however, the year is wrongly given).

[7] See note on p. 248 above.

paring it with Philpot's [1] account of the public watches kept there.

It seems a just matter for reflection, with what indifference the great business of our Navy is managed at this day (July 1694), that Mr. Sotherne, Secretary of the Admiralty, has found himself by one means or other (as little as even he can be thought qualified for the filling that place, at least in a time of such a war as we have now upon our hands) provoked to give his masters warning and to leave them, and that the properest provision they could make for supplying his room must be by splitting of his work into two, which I take for impracticable with safety to the whole, if at all intelligible, and to assign the execution thereof to Mr. Bridgman and Jos. Burchett,[2] at 800*l.* per annum salary to each, as the report now goes.

Review Mr. Philpot's chapter in his *Villare Cantianum* [1] touching the sea watches and wards there, and my larger collection of MSS. precedents on that subject annext thereto.[3]

Reflect upon the instance of the conceit our *vulgus* generally had of what the safety of England lies in, in the foolish design they fancy of Friar

[1] See note on p. 297 above.

[2] James Sotherne appears to have resigned the office of Secretary of the Admiralty as from July 31, 1694. He was succeeded by William Bridgeman on August 1, and with him Josiah Burchett was associated as from January 1695. Burchett was acting as Russell's secretary in the Mediterranean in 1694–5, and did not take up his duties at the Admiralty until his return to England, but Pepys's minute shews that his appointment was known as early as July 1694.

[3] The copy in the Pepysian Library [No. 2052] has a collection of precedents annexed to it as described in the text.

Bacon's environing it with a brazen wall.[1] The style bestowed upon our ships of being England's wooden walls[2] being but a continuation of the same notion to this day, the material being only varied.

It seems a matter very worthy enquiry, how far the emulation among builders (both the King's and private men) is now (1694) kept alive in proportion to what it always was during the reigns of our 2 last Princes. Whose personal concernments for and knowledges in that affair led them not only to the giving a liberty, but even encouraging all men of that trade, beginners as well as old practisers, and even assistants and foremen as well as master-builders, nay, down to the very barge-maker and boat-maker, to bring their draughts to them, and themselves vouchsafed to administer occasion of discoursing and debating the same and the reasons appertaining thereto. Not only to the great and universal encouragement of the men, but improvement of their art to the benefit of the State: themselves taking delight to visit the merchant-yards as well as their own, and both honour and assist with their presence no less the merchant builder at his launchings of a new ship of any tolerable consideration, and enquiring after the proofs of them at their return from sea, than his own master-builders. But how this is made good under a Prince whose genius seems bent to land-action only, and consequently what obligations, inducements, or indeed regard

[1] See note on p. 125 above.

[2] The expression *Tu certè Ligneis Muris Britanniam munivisti* occurs in the Latin Diploma presented to Pepys by the University of Oxford in 1702, which John Jackson, Pepys's nephew, translates, 'You have truly encompassed Brittain with woodden Walls' (*Private Correspondence*, ii. 281, 283).

is now had to the keeping up of that emulation, and consequently the hopes of our still further advancing in the science of shipbuilding, whether by any applications used towards it by those who have the charge of the Admiralty, or the Officers of the Navy, or in particular by the Surveyor[1] thereof (if he may yet be admitted for sufficient to judge of the work of a master-builder, who was so lately condemned of insufficiency in his duty as an assistant) I am out of the way of knowing.

[2] Examine Mr. Cambden's quotation in Essex out of Ingulphus[3] touching the many things made use of heretofore among us for the giving and taking seizure of lands by, such as a sword, helmet, curry-comb, horn, etc., but nothing relating to the sea.

[2] August 1694. The present character of the time as to the Navy seems to be :—Our Navy has sustained none or little damage from fights or otherwise, but from our own ignorance or neglect ; money is but to be asked and had ; the laying it out not enquired into, or by persons that know not how, or dare not for fear of being reproached or laughed at ; and every man tempted by the generality and impunity of the example to mind the making of his own market of the service, with

[1] The Surveyor of the Navy in 1694 was Edmund Dummer. He had been assistant-shipwright at Chatham, and in 1686 Pepys described him as 'an ingenuous young man, but said rarely to have handled a tool in his life' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* i. 77). His 'Draughts of the Body of an English Man of War' are in Pepys's *Collection of Vessels Naval* [No. 2934].

[2] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[3] 'For before the coming in of the Normans (as we read in Ingulphus) indentures were made firm by golden crosses and such other marks. . . . Many tenures were granted by the bare word ; without writing or paper, only with the sword of the lord or his helmet ; with a horn or a cup ; and several others with a spur, a curry-comb, a bow, and sometimes with an arrow' (Camden's *Britannia*, edition of 1695, p. 345).

danger of being displaced for his impertinence or troublesomeness if he do otherwise.

[1] Observe the elaborate provision made in France by the *Ordonnances des Roy du* 13 *Aoust*, 1669, *portant reglement des bois et forests*, for the preserving and due disposing of its woods and timber, and with particular regard to shipbuilding: *vide* the *Principaux Articles* thereof printed by Caron in his *Traité des Bois*,[2] to be compared (and possibly more found on the same subject) in the *Code Louïs*, and also with the less effectual (if any) provision made for the same by us.

Review the Project dedicated to the Lord Burleigh for preventing the landing of an enemy.[3]

[1] Read Wright's Corrections of Errors in Navigation.[4]

[1] Provision is made and continued (in the Constable's Oath) by our laws to this day for the maintenance of archery, but nothing ever for our sea-trade, either as to shipwrightry or navigation. *Q.* whether [5] any or no, and what, if any?

[1] *Q*[*uaere*] is there no other instance to be given of care publicly taken for the encouraging

[1] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[2] Claude Caron, *Traité des Bois servans à tous usages*, 2 vols., Paris, 1676.

[3] See note on p. 107 above.

[4] Edward Wright (*d.* 1615) published in 1599 *Certain Errors in Navigation*, in which, regarding navigation as a branch of mathematics, he worked out a projection which was a vast improvement on the earlier one laid down by Mercator in 1556. The Mercator's charts of the present day are really drawn on the projection devised by Wright (*D.N.B.*, lxiii. 101). A copy of the original edition of 1599, and of the second edition of 1610 dedicated to Prince Henry, are in the Pepysian Library [No. 949].

[5] MS. 'whither.'

and supporting of some sports, exercises, or crafts of yet less moment than navigation, or even that before mentioned of archery?

[1] Pursue my enquiry touching the Shipwrights of the ancient [2] Company,[3] which yet seems never to have been incorporated, but (as Major Mould first hinted to me) is one of those, such as the Car-men, etc. (*Q.* who?) that are reckoned Fellowships and so styled, and are under some sort of reglement (*Q.* what?) and not Companies.

[1] Mr. Tollet[4] observes to me that our Church tables for finding of Easter are yet imperfect, and that the Bishops, etc., at the Restoration proceeding hastily in Convocation to the confirming the same with the Service-Book, and getting them both re-established (I think) in Parliament, they were (when too late) sensible of their mistake, and yet not knowing then how to remedy it, were forced to send for all the almanac-makers to Lambeth, and there to direct them (as it was also, he seems to remember, by proclamation [5]) to make their almanacs for the time to come conform to the Church's tables during the time appointed by the Act, notwithstanding this their imperfection. *Q.* the truth and evidence of fact herein, and any instance of the erroneous

[1] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.
[2] MS. 'auncient.' [3] See note on p. 1 above.
[4] Mr. George Tollet was a personal friend of Pepys, and is several times referred to in his *Private Correspondence*, where his interest in the correspondence with Isaac Newton on the doctrine of chances suggests that he was a mathematician. In 1700 he was appointed Secretary to the Commission of Excise, and at the time of Pepys's death in 1703 he was a Commissioner of the Navy.
[5] No such proclamation appears to have been issued.

consequences of it that has (as I take it) since happened therefrom,—*vide* Dr. Holder,[1] etc.

[2] How came Dr. Record,[3] in his Epistle to Queen Mary, 1556, and Dr. Cunningham [4] in his to the Lord Dudleigh in 1559, to say that they were the first that ever wrote on the subject of Astronomy (with some application of it to Navigation) in our language? Compare them with others, and remember that the former in his Preface seems to have wrote other books on the same subject before. *Q.*

[2] Dr. Browne [5] in his *Vulgar Errors*, page 49, informs us of the French having the knowledge of the verticity of the loadstone before us. *Q.* what Fournier [6] pretends to thereon?

[2] Examine and confront Mr. Selden's quotations out of the Parliament Rolls.[7] And inform myself about the nature and place of resort to the Patent and Close [8] Rolls.

[1] Dr. William Holder, from 1674 to 1689 Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, published in 1694 *A Discourse concerning Time . . . for the better understanding of the Julian Year and Calendar.*

[2] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[3] Robert Recorde (*d.* 1558), mathematician and physician, 'was the first writer in English on arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and the first to introduce algebra into England' (*D.N.B.*, xlvii. 368). A copy of his *Castle of Knowledge* (1556), dedicated to Queen Mary, is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2049].

[4] William Cuningham or Keningham, physician, astrologer, and engraver, published in 1559 *The Cosmographicall Glasse conteinyng the pleasant Principles of Cosmographie, Geographie, Hydrographie, or Navigation*, and dedicated it to Lord Robert Dudley, the Master of the Horse, afterwards Earl of Leicester. A copy of this work, bound up with the preceding, is in the Pepysian Library [No. 2049].

[5] The reference is to Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Bk. ii. c. 2, 'Concerning the Loadstone.'

[6] See note on p. 50 above.

[7] See note 7 on p. 306 above.

[8] MS. 'Claus.'

[1] Enquire into and compare the several naval strengths of England, France, and Holland in 1688, and apply the same to the doing right to ours ; consulting towards it Sir WilliamTrumball [2] and D'Albeville, the former for France, together with the last printed State of France,[3] the latter for Holland, from (I remember) the state thereof as to the condition of its ships which he about that time sent to the King, and are in my hand.[4]

September 30, 1694.[5] *Memorandum*, that Mr. Bridgman,[6] in his this day's visit and conference with me upon various subjects, first acquainted me with the Judges and Attorney and Solicitor General's having unanimously given it the last year as their opinion at the Council Board, that the Commissions as lately issued of Oyer and Terminer in the Admiralty were (from the changes made in the Common Law since Henry 8's time, making some things legal and others illegal that were not then so ; notwithstanding which, those Commissions have con-

[1] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[2] Sir William Trumbull was sent as envoy to France in 1685. He was well known to Pepys, as he had accompanied Lord Dartmouth to Tangier in 1683 as judge-advocate of the fleet. 'Strange to see,' he writes in his Tangier Diary, 'how surprised and troubled Dr. Trumbull shews himself at this new work put on him of a Judge Advocate ; how he cons over the Law-martial, and what weak questions he asks me about it' (Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence*, i. 325).

[3] Perhaps the translation of *L'État de la France*, published in 1691, by Richard Wolley or Woolley, under the title *Galliae Notitia*.

[4] Letters from the Marquis D'Albeville of October 30 and 31, and November 16 and 26, 1688, written from the Hague, giving an account of the Dutch proceedings, are printed in Smith, *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys*, ii. 327–32, 342–47.

[5] MS. '1690,' but this is clearly a mistake.

[6] See note on p. 393 above.

tinued to run, without any change in their old style), at this day become invalid, and needed an Act of Parliament to reform and revalidate them. Which was done by a special Act the last year. By which also the causes of that Court were at the pleasure of the Crown alone (as he now first explains it to me) made cognisable in Westminster Hall, for the enabling itself to do that there towards the punishing the disorders and correcting of the manners of its present sea-commanders which is not to be hoped for from courts-martial where themselves sit judges. And this he tells me was the reason assigned by some of the Commissioners of Accounts who brought in the Bill, viz. Mr. Foley,[1] etc., for their bringing it in. To which I told him might have been added, the taking away the tyrannical power executed despotically by them over their under-officers then; and thereon bringing into discourse the error of the Court in their so precipitant solicitations for that law at King Charles 2nd's first coming in, he told me that it was so, and that he had been very well informed that Sir William Coventry was mis-led therein by old Mr. Pierpoint,[2] the celebrated sage of that time both out of and in Parliament, but upon what inducements he could not tell.

Memorandum, that upon my request, he hath promised to give me a copy of the foresaid lawyers' opinion at the Board.

[1] See note on p. 384 above.

[2] William Pierrepont, known by family tradition as 'Wise William,' had a great reputation in his day for prudence and integrity. He sat in the Long Parliament and in the Convention Parliament, but he was a friend of Richard Cromwell, and at the Restoration he retired from political life. Pepys refers to him in the *Diary* as a man whom he 'liked very well' (December 12, 1667).

Note that Dr. Dee, in his Preface to Euclid, wrote at Mortlake, February 9, 1570[–1],[1] hath these words importing the imperfectness of our navigators at that time, viz. in his paragraph of 'Hydrography and the Uses thereof,' he among other things saith thus: 'And many other points are belonging to perfect Hydrography, and for to make a rutter by, of which I need not here speak: as of the describing in any place, upon globe or plane, the 32 points of the compass truly. Whereof scarcely 4 in England have right knowledge; because the lines thereof are no straight lines nor circles.'

[2] Note that our present Tr[inity] H[ouse] are so conscious of their own disability to examine the Christ's Hospital boys committed to their examination by the King's Institution,[3] that they professedly allow 10*l.* per annum out of the poor's money to Mr. Coleson [4] as a standing charge, to do it for them in their presence. Who's doing the same work at the Hospital's visitations also, seems to make the examination in either place the greater mockery; and was, it seems, taken notice [of] by somebody since the late visitation, October 1694, either at Court or Committee, and

[1] Sir Henry Billingsley (*d.* 1606), Lord Mayor of London, was the first translator of Euclid into English. The *Elements of Geometry* appeared in 1570–1 with a long and learned preface by Dr. John Dee, the mathematician and astrologer, dated from his house at Mortlake, as stated in the text.

[2] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.

[3] By the terms of Charles II's Charter of August 19, 1673, founding the Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital, the boys had to be examined by the Trinity House, which granted a certificate to those qualified to be apprenticed to the sea (E. H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, p. 101: *cf.* also *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 220).

[4] Mr. Colston was acting as examiner for the Christ's Hospital Committee as early as 1681 (Pearce, p. 111).

resolved that Coleson shall be no more employed in that matter there.

Note from Dr. Plott:[1] 'Quod homines Hundredi de Middleton in com. Lanc. non teneantur facere vigilias aut custodias maris alibi quam in Insulâ de Sheppey,' Claus. 1 Ric. 2, n. 33.[2]

It seems a consideration worth improving towards the taking a right measure of the knowledge of the ancients in the matter of navigation, that all that we generally meet with in proof of the heighth thereof among them seems to amount to no more than some general assertions of the bigness of some ships (to an extravagance beyond belief), the numbers of ships reported in some fleets, the mighty relations of the sea-fights, with the particularities told us of their terms for the parts of a ship and its appurtenances (particularly the *versoria*[3]), the manifold ranks of oars on their galleys, length of their voyages, knowledge and observation therein of the stars, names of their ports, and special characters bestowed in history upon such and such nations for their seamanship; without any one author that I can remember that has left us either any particular discourse or theory of navigation as a formed science, like any of those which they have left us of most of the other parts of human

[1] See note on p. 281 above.

[2] 'Lanc.' should read 'Cant.,' and 'n. 33' is a mistake for 'm. 34.' 'Middleton' is Milton, near Sittingbourne.

[3] On December 3, 1681, Pepys had received from the learned Dr. Thomas Gale, then High Master of St. Paul's School and afterwards Dean of York, an answer to his enquiry 'touching the true construction of the word *versoria*, etc., and the antiquity of the title and office of steerman, both in England and Norway' (Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix ii, p. 178).

knowledge, and like what the world has been furnisht and now abounds with upon this subject from within the last 2 centuries only. Much less doth it appear to me that antiquity has either left us, or ever had among themselves, any such accounts of their voyages as answer to our seaman's journal, or so much as any tide-tables for such and such particular ports, or how the same answered to the days of the moon's age, and yet less, any sea-charts shewing nicely the trending of the lands, the depths of water thereon and rise of tides, layings down of sands and shoals, [or any notice of their minding the draughts of water of their ships, or use of the sounding-lead, or ships miscarrying by drawing too much water],[1] figures and appearances of the coast at sea, sea-marks conducting into their harbours and rivers, and many or rather the infinite other matters that will occur upon the first opening of almost any of our modern books of navigation : to which on this behalf it were therefore necessary to resort for further illustration of this thing, and as a more perfect ground for enquiry what may possibly be remaining extant in the world at this day of the ancients, upon any of these or other heads, which may possibly have hitherto escaped, and particularly whether ever they had so much as a fixt distribution and card of the winds, so as to be known to have been in use among the seamen, and the number of the points therein according to which it was more or less possible for them to be nice in their sailing.[2]

[1] The passage in square brackets is inserted in the margin of the MS. in Pepys's own hand.

[2] This is a good specimen of the colossal sentences which Pepys was capable of putting together. For another illustration from his Admiralty Letters see J. R. Tanner, *Samuel Pepys and the Royal Navy*, p. 15.

To which I have to add, that I do greatly mistrust their ever having any one coast of the sea laid down with the accuracy necessary for safe navigation for great ships in all weathers; or any otherwise than what commonly sufficed for the use of the ordinary geographer. Or that the knowledge of the stars in reference to navigation was carried any farther than what was common to every land-traveller or shepherd. And as a finishing to this note, it may be no less useful on the other hand to observe and reflect upon what may be found, even in the writings that are left, upon any of the first-mentioned topics that do indisputably shew the crudeness and imperfections of the best of their attainments herein, such as Lucan's telling you in his sea-fight of a mariner's pulling up the mast of his ship (for want of another instrument) to carry on his execution with, etc.

[1] *Q*[*uaere*] the oldest sea-chart (foreign or domestic) that we meet with in books, or can now hear of?

Examine and reflect well upon the style of the Duke of York's Commission to the Earl of Sandwich constituting him his Lieutenant or Admiral, and Captain-General of the Narrow Seas, and describing and limiting the said Seas thus, viz. 'from the River of Thames to the Island and Islands of Scilly and the coasts thereof,' by comparing the same with the King's Commission to the Duke whereon it seems founded, and his patent of confirmation of the same; as also with the like grants afterwards to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Grafton: the three first being entered at large in my *Miscellanies*,[2] viz.:

[1] This paragraph is written in Pepys's own hand.

[2] These are the eleven MS. volumes in the Pepysian Library numbered 2869–2879.

King's Commission to D. Y. as Ld. H. Adml., vol. 2, p. 389 : 29 Jan. 1660[–1].

D. Y.'s Commission to Ld. Sandwich as Adml. of the Narrow Seas, vol. 3, p. 599 : 13 Mar. 1660[–1].

K.'s Commission to Ld. Sandwich confirming that of D. Y.'s, vol. 3, p. 602 : 1st April, 1661.

[1] Remember the particulars of Mr. Tollet's [2] discourse to me December 6, 1694 (or resort to him for a repetition of them) touching his own observations upon some, and suspicions of the generality, of Captain Collins's [3] performances in his late survey of the coasts of England, etc.

[1] Note that Dr. Davenant in his Discourse, 1694, of Ways and Means,[4] where he gives his opinion of the rise of that partiality to the northern and western counties in the ancient and present [5] apportioning of our public taxes, assigns it to the expenses extraordinary those counties were anciently liable to from the Scots northward, the Welsh westward (from within-ward), and the French descents upon the western coasts.

Were it not to be wished that the seaman's trade might be made so honourable and profitable, as that not only [6] the younger brothers of England might be encouraged to seek their fortunes that way, as they hitherto have generally done (at

[1] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.
[2] See note on p. 397 above. [3] See note on p. 324 above.
[4] *An Essay upon Ways and Means of Supplying the War*, by Charles Davenant the political economist, appeared in 1695.
[5] MS. 'auncient and præsent.'
[6] Pepys begins this paragraph, but at this point relinquishes the pen to his copyist.

home and abroad) by trailing of a pike, etc., in land-service, for the sake of the latter ; but that even the elder might esteem it, for the dignity of it, no diminution to their qualities or estates (whatever they may be) to do the same for a voyage or two, but on the contrary have it solemnly made a principal (if not a necessary) step towards their advancement to the greatest offices of State and Court, and to carry with it the public credit of being one of the first qualifications in a nobleman or gentleman for public trust, in Parliament or elsewhere, to have taken this degree in that great article of our English government (hitherto so little understood and so dearly paid for) which relates to the sea, and the truth as well as importance of its interest therein.

[1] Consider Pliny's account of the winds,—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. 2d,[2] and see what hath been said by anybody upon it. Ditto about the theory of the moon and tides, if any.

Le Sieur Popeliniere in his *Amiral de France*, 1585,[3] speaking of the reasons of the Rhodians making themselves so famous for the sea-affairs and laws, raiseth from it a most severe reflection upon the English making themselves no more so, as having the same advantages and provocations to it with those of Rhodes.

May not our phrase of a ship's making so much water a watch when she is leaky, be justly called a Gallicism and to be borrowed from the French, Popeliniere [3] having above 100 years ago, page 76,

[1] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.
[2] Lib. ii. cc. 42 ff.
[3] *L'Amiral de France* was published in 1584–85 by Lancelot Voesin, Sieur de la Popinière.

expresst himself on the same occasion thus, ' Si le navire chargé faisoit eau ' ? The common import of that phrase in English being not to *immit*, but (just the contrary) to *emit* water.

[1] What sea-scape [2] of our own nation have we ever had like Vanderveld [3] or others ?

[1] Mr. Bedford [4] (February 7, 1694–5) mightily magnifies to me the wisdom of the King of France's Admiralty Laws,[5] published about 1681, beyond all that was ever extant in a body in the whole world before ; and tells me the method taken by that King in collecting them, by employing one knowing person to visit Swedeland, Denmark, etc. and all maritime nations, to search for all that was to be found, and particularly England, wherein himself was bespoke by Mr. Peter Barr [6] to give this person a meeting to that purpose, which he with Sir L. Jenkins's [7] leave and caution was to have done, but was prevented by Mr. Mulloy's [8] meeting with him (as Mulloy himself told Mr. B.) and getting 40 guineas out of him for answers to the many questions that he had from him, upon the credit which his book of *Jus Maritimum* (none of his own, says B.) had got him for his knowledge therein.

[1] Mr. Bedford also tells me of a reward given

[1] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand.
[2] MS. ' sea-skipp.' [3] See note on p. 365 above.
[4] Mr. Thomas Bedford was Register of the Court of Admiralty.
[5] Possibly the *Code-Louis* referred to in note 7 on p. 371 above.
[6] Presumably the Peter Barr who on June 22, 1666, had sent Pepys a tierce of claret, ' which is very welcome ' (*Diary*).
[7] On Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Judge of the Admiralty Court, and therefore Mr. Bedford's official superior, see *D.N.B.*, xxix. 302.
[8] Charles Molloy (1646–1690) compiled a treatise on maritime law and commerce, entitled *De Jure Maritimo et Navali*, first published in 1676, but it was largely borrowed from the earlier work of Gerard Malynes.

in the time of Queen Elizabeth to a particular man for building a merchant-ship of about 150 tons (as he remembered), for the encouragement of others to do the like. Of which he promises me a copy.[1]

[2] He observed also, upon my enquiring it, that there are no ancient [3] inquisitions now extant other than that of Quinbrow,[4] and that neither that nor any other either inquisition or indictment[5] appears to have ever taken notice of the business of the flag before that of the Frenchman in King Charles 2d's time. On which great pains was taken how to form an indictment[5] that might take it in so as to be warranted by the Statute 28 (I think) Henry 8 constituting the Admiralty Commission of Oyer and Terminer.[6] And at last they were forced to bring it under the word *Confederacy*, and so the indictment[5] ran. And care was taken, after the trial was over, to spread the notice of this case and proceeding in as many places as they could, for future information on that occasion; and also to have a pardon passed for the criminal, for preventing execution. I have (I take

[1] See p. 411 below.

[2] This paragraph is in Pepys's own hand. [3] MS. 'auncient.'

[4] A copy of the Inquisition of Queenborough, April 2, 1375, 'touching the ancient customs of the Admiralty' is in the Pepysian Library (*Miscellanies*, iii. 206). The Inquisition is printed in Twiss, *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, i. 132–77. There is also in the Library a translation of the document from the old French of the original (*Miscellanies*, iii. 233) by Paul Lorrain, Pepys's copyist, who afterwards became Ordinary of Newgate Prison (see Pepys's *Correspondence*, i. 168 *n.*).

[5] MS. 'enditement.'

[6] 28 Henr. VIII, c. 15 (1536), 'An Act for punishment of pirates and robbers of the sea,' substitutes Common Law for Civil Law in Admiralty cases, and provides that trials are to be under the King's commission, directed to the Lord High Admiral and three or four other 'substantial persons' selected by the Lord Chancellor.

it) a copy of the indictment [1] by me, and of Sir L. Jenkins's charge, Finch being Keeper or Lord Chancellor.[2]

February 8, 1694–5. This day Mr. Bedford sent me the paper above-mentioned,[3] being the copy of a warrant of Queen Elizabeth's under her signet, A.D. 1592 and 34th of her reign, to the Lord Treasurer for a reward to one Edward Winter, Esquire, for his having then newly built at Bristol, at his own cost, a merchant-ship, the Exchange, of the burthen of 140 tons, and for the encouragement of others to build the like, in terms greatly commending the service; the whole paper being well worth the reflecting on, and the rather for the reconciling it to the decayed state of the Navy reported from the Trinity House to the then Lord Admiral and Judge of the Admiralty but 10 years after, viz. in 1602. *Vide* the entry thereof in my *Miscellanea*, vol. 2, page 97.[4]

Lambert in his *Peramb*[*ulation*],[5] p. 69, observes a stricter provision to have been made than

[1] MS. 'enditement.'

[2] Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, was Lord Keeper from November 9, 1673, to December 19, 1675, when he became Lord Chancellor. On January 10, 1677, Peter Geraudeau, 'for the contempt and affront he offered to his Majesty's flag (which was attended with circumstances of highest aggravation) . . . was fined 500*l.* to the King and condemned to lie in prison till he paid the same' (*Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iii. 361); but Sir Leoline Jenkins was at this time in Holland, so the reference in the text must be to an earlier case.

[3] See p. 408 above. The document is printed in full on pp. 411–12 below.

[4] 'A remonstrance to the Lord Admiral from Trinity House of the decay of shipping and mariners in England, anno 1602' (*Miscellanies*, ii. 97). The 'then Lord Admiral' was the Earl of Nottingham, better known as Lord Howard of Effingham, and the Judge of the Court of Admiralty was Sir Thomas Crompton.

[5] See note on p. 248 above.

formerly about the beacons to be kept for alarming the country upon invasions in the 11th of Edward 3d, notwithstanding his having the reputation of our Navy and Sea-Dominions being most flourishing under him.

Remember what is to be collected, as well touching the conduct of the ancient fleets and ships Royal of England as of the general laws and customs of the sea in ancient practice, with those of trade and commerce, out of the *Black Book of the Admiralty*. A transcript whereof I have by me,[1] taken from the copy thereof in Sir Robert Cotton's Library; as also a translation of the same into English in Mr. Bedford's collection of Admiralty papers making up the 4th volume of my *Miscellanies*.[2]

The general force of the ships of England, even so lately as about the end of Queen Elizabeth, seems best to be collected from the service it was by her thought to be from a particular man, to have built a ship of 140 tons. Legible in the satisfaction she owned to have, and the reward she of her own accord bestowed upon one Edward Winter, Esquire, for building at his own cost a ship of that burthen called the Exchange, of Bristol;[3] with a declaration of her granting this, not only as a reward to him, but for the encouraging of other her subjects to build the like; and notice also taken of sufficient caution resting in the Court of Admiralty that the said ship shall not be alienated by the said owner to any stranger or foreigner out of this realm. *Vide* the said grant at length in the

[1] In Pepys's *Miscellanies*, iv. 759.

[2] *Ib.* iv. 515. The fourth volume of the *Miscellanies* is a transcript of the Commonplace Book of Mr. Bedford, Register of the Court of Admiralty.

[3] See p. 409 above.

annexed draught thereof dated in 1592, the 34th year of her reign ; taken from the original resting on the file of draughts in the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty, and attested by Mr. Bedford, Register thereof :—

[1] Elizabeth, by the Grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc., to the Treasurer and Chamberlain of our Exchequer, Greeting. Whereas We be credibly informed that our trusty and well-beloved subject Edward Winter, Esquire, hath of late newly edified, builded, and made a good ship called the Exchange, of our port of Bristowe, of the burthen of one hundred and forty tons, to the increase and advancement of the navy of this our realm of England, which is to our good pleasure, and to the comfort not only of us but also of the natural subjects of this our realm of England, to the costs, charges, and expenses of the said Edward Winter, Esquire, and We willing as well the succour, help, and relief of the same Edward Winter in that behalf, as also the encouraging of the same Edward Winter and other of our subjects of this our realm to the like making of other like ships ; of our grace especial, in consideration of the costs, charges, and expenses of the said Edward Winter, do give and grant unto the said Edward Winter of and for every ton of the burthen of the ship aforesaid, one crown of the double rose [2] of the value of five shillings sterling every crown, amounting in all to the sum of one hundred and forty of the crowns aforesaid, to be taken unto him of our special reward towards these costs and charges and expenses, of such customs, subsidies,[3] and other duties as shall be due to Us coming and growing for such wares and merchandises as shall be brought in or carried out by the said ship called the Exchange, by the hands of the farmer, custom[er], or collector of our customs and

[1] This copy is inserted in the MS. on a separate leaf, and in a different hand.

[2] The gold 'Crown of the Rose' was coined by Henry VIII in 1526.

[3] MS. 'subsidues.'

subsidies [1] of our port of Bristowe. Wherefore and for that also there is sufficient caution taken in our Court of the Admiralty that the said owner shall not alienate or do away the said ship to any stranger or foreign person out of this our realm, We will and command you our said Treasurer and Chamberlain of our Exchequer that ye in due and sufficient form do levy and strike, or cause to be levied and stricken, for the said Edward Winter upon [*a blank*], collectors of our said customs and subsidies [1] in the port aforesaid, one and such a sufficient taile [2] conserving the entire sum and value of one hundred and forty crowns of the double rose aforesaid, as the said collectors may have due allowance of the same sum upon their accompt to be yielded unto Us of our said customs and subsidies [1] in our said Exchequer, and that taile [2] so duly levied ye deliver or cause to be delivered to the said Edward Winter or his assign, to be taken unto him for the obtaining of the same sum, without press [3] or other charges to be set him for the same or any part thereof. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. Given under our signet at , the of , 1592, and in the thirty-fourth year of our reign.

This is a true copy of a draught on the File of Draughts, No. 30–143, in the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty.

THO. BEDFORD.[4]

Note, that not only in the first institution of the Savoy Hospital by King Henry 7th, and in the supply made for answering the end thereof (when dissolved) by St. Thomas's, but through the whole scheme and original device (as they then termed it) for the erecting of King

[1] MS. 'subsidues.'

[2] This form of *tally* did not become obsolete until the 17th century.

[3] 'Press' stands here for 'prest,' in the sense of a deduction made, by way of charge or impost, from a payment due.

[4] The attestation and signature are in Bedford's hand.

Edward 6th's 3 Hospitals, one of which, viz. St. Thomas's, was specially destined for the cure of the sick, lame, and wounded, and through the whole history thereof, afterwards wrote by John Howes,[1] provision is largely and expressly for the extending it to soldiers, without one word ever mentioned of the lame or wounded seamen.

[2] Mr. S. Newton (present Mathematical Master at Christ's Hospital, 1695),[3] in my conversation with him touching the imperfect state of our seamanships in what concerns the art of Navigation, even at this day, observed to me that the knowledge and science of Navigation appears to him to have received very little improvement among us since the time of Sir Francis Drake, etc., and our countryman Mr. Wright's [4] book of the errors thereof in his time; saving only in the present method of our keeping journals. Insomuch, he tells me, as Mr. Oughtred (so lately as in his time) doth in his book of the Circles of Proportion expressly upbraid our seamen with their then ignorance, and yet self-conceitedness and obstinacy. His words I have transcribed from the English edition thereof at Oxford, 1660,[5]

[1] In 1582 John Howes, the father of the Edmund Howes who wrote a continuation of Stow's *Annals*, compiled an account of the erection of the Hospitals of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas. It was printed in 1904.

[2] This paragraph is in the hand of John Jackson, Pepys's nephew, who sometimes acted as his uncle's amanuensis.

[3] Samuel Newton had just been appointed Master of the Mathematical School. His application was supported by a testimonial from 'Mr. Isaac Newton,' and he retained the office until 1708, although he was not altogether a success (E. H. Pearce, pp. 120–21).

[4] See note on p. 396 above.

[5] William Oughtred (1575–1660), mathematician, wrote a Latin treatise on navigation, which was published in 1632 under the title *Circles of Proportion and the Horizonal Instrument*, translated by William Foster, one of his pupils. A second edition was printed at Oxford in 1660.

in the chapter of Navigation, page 166. Which words are these (speaking of the discovery of a method whereby the spiral line of a ship's course may be recalled to a precise exactness): 'By what artifice this is done, together with other secrets of that nature, I may peradventure hereafter be induced to declare; if so be I shall first see the practisers of this most noble and useful science (which is, as it were, the band and tie of most disjunct countries, and the consociation of nations farthest remote) willing to relinquish their inveterate errors, and to use thankfully and conscionably, without envy and self-conceited stubbornness, such light and helps as the due and mature study of true art shall afford.'

NURSERIES OR LECTURES FOR NAVIGATION.

Q[*uaere*], What have our Universities?

Sir Thomas Gresham [1] none.

Sutton's Hospital,[2] *Q.*?

Sir John Hawkyns's Hospital,[3]—*Q.* its institution?

Ditto, or Chest [4] (or Trinity House, as intimated by Mr. Wright [5]),—a teacher of Navigation at Chatham?

Stow's chapter of Schools,—Leadenhall Lecture? [6]

[1] See note on p. 41 above. [2] See note on p. 159 above.
[3] See p. 255 above. [4] See note on p. 232 above.
[5] Perhaps the Mr. Edward Wright who was corresponding with Pepys in November 1696 (*Private Correspondence*, i. 129).
[6] See note on p. 159 above.

Q[uaere] the Lecture mentioned in my *Naval Tracts*, vol. 1st, p. 706, No. 649, being William Barlow's *Navigator's Supply*, printed 1597.[1]

R[ichard] H[akluyt], his Epistle to Philip Sidney, Esquire,[2] in my *Naval Tracts*, vol. 1st, page 725, his collection of Voyages printed 1582, takes notice of the Contratacion-house at Sevil,[3] proposing the like in London, etc., and his proceeding with Sir Francis Drake towards founding a Lecture there.

The present Nursery at St. Elmo at Sevil.

The King of France's ditto.

Our first navigation-book a translation from French, and the prayer in the Epistle consider.

Q[uaere] our other first books, all translations?

An instance of Sir Fran[cis] Drake's own imperfect knowledge, in *Naval Tracts*, vol. 1st, page 616.[4]

[1] William Barlow, Archdeacon of Salisbury, wrote on navigation and on the properties of the loadstone, but he had no practical knowledge of seamanship, 'for by natural constitution of body,' he writes, 'I altogether abhorred the sea.' *The Navigator's Supply* was published in 1597, as stated in the text.

[2] See p. 378 above.

[3] The Casa de Contratacion at Seville was founded in 1503 to superintend the Indian trade, and later in the 16th century a school for teaching and examination was attached to it (see Monson's *Tracts*, ed. M. Oppenheim, ii. 312, 324). In the first work which he published, *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America* . . . (1582), Hakluyt had advocated the establishment of lectures on Navigation on the Spanish plan, and Drake had offered £20 a year towards the stipend of the lecturer, but as the other £20 required was not forthcoming, the scheme was abandoned (*ib.*, iv. 391 *n.*). See also p. 4 above.

[4] In the Epistle Dedicatory of Barlow's *Navigator's Supply*, bound up in Pepys's collection of *Sea-Tracts* (see note on p. 220 above).

Sir William Monson somewhere wishes for a Mathematical Lecture.[1]

Sir William Boreman's Nursery,—the success thereof, *Q.* ?[2]

Leo the Spaniard's[3] Catalogue of English writers, *Q.* ?

Names of our first and chief writers in the list in my *Naval Tracts*, vol. 1st, page 718,[4] printed 1582, R[ichard] H[akluyt].

Improve the distinction in our Patent[5] between Science and Art,—in relation to the Master.

What remains improvable by art in Navigation ?

This Foundation the last act of [the] D[uke of] Y[ork] as Admiral.

Lord Bacon's *Nov. Organon*,
Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth*,[6] } examine.
Sir Thomas Moore's *Utopia*,

[1] One of Monson's *Tracts* is entitled 'The Convenience of a Lecture in Navigation' (ed. M. Oppenheim, iv. 391–6).

[2] See note on p. 288 above.

[3] 'Leo the Spaniard' is probably John Leo of Granada (*d. c.* 1526), the author of a description of Africa in Arabic, which he afterwards translated into Italian. At Hakluyt's suggestion, an English translation was made by John Pory, the traveller and geographer, and published in 1600. It was reprinted by Samuel Purchas in Part ii. of his *Pilgrimes*.

[4] This also is a reference to Barlow's *Navigator's Supply*.

[5] The reference is probably to the Charter of the Christ's Hospital Mathematical School, which provides for the instruction of the boys in 'the Art of Navigation and the whole Science of Arithmetic.'

[6] From 1589 onwards the editions of Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1583) have the title *The Common Welth of England*.

Mr. Leake's[1] history, and recommendations at his entry.

Mr. Paget,[2] as well as the other masters, has visited me privately with the boys, and the Treasurer.

What is the ordinary method and stint[3] of the seaman's learning before and after his going to sea?

Our Foundation[4] was designed for somewhat more.

Malefactors sent to sea for punishment; and our prisons being filled made an argument for erecting Plantations,—*vide* my *Naval Tracts*, vol. 1st, page 721, R[ichard] H[akluyt] to Philip Sidney, Esquire.[5]

Call upon Mr. Tollet[6] for my little book and almanac, with some qua[e]ries to him about them.

That little book the oldest sea-chart, and the Rutter the oldest sea-book, I have met with used in England, and both originally French.[5]

Q[*uaere*] from Oxford and Cambridge about our first application of our mathematics to navigation?

[1] William Leake was Master of the Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital from 1673 to 1678, but he was not a success, and was dismissed by the Governors.

[2] On Edward Pagett see note on p. 182 above.

[3] *I.e.* measure, amount.

[4] The Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital.

[5] See p. 415 above. [6] See note on p. 397 above.

Review and apply Sir Ed. Sherbourne [1] and Monsieur Vossius's [2] catalogues of mathematicians.

Our only seamen formerly the Cinque Ports, and those must have been gross,[3] as many are among us to this day. *Q.* how gross ?

Lord Sandwich celebrated by Sir E. Sherbourn [1] among the mathematicians.

The King, Duke, and he the most mathematic [4] Admirals England ever had.

The Trinity House, its time and terms of institution, men and women,—*Q.* that of Hull ? [5]

The *Grand Routier* and our Great Rutter are both derived from this, as is visible by comparing them ; yet we expressly in the title derive ours from the Dutch Waggener.[6]

The reception we gave the Waggener, and when ?

Sir H. Shere,—my Lord Sandwich's mathematical doings in Spain, and at Portsmouth, *Q.* ? [7]

Ditto, what rests improvable in Navigation by mathematics ?

[1] Sir Edward Sherburne (1618–1702), Clerk of the Ordnance, published in 1675 *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius made an English Poem*, with an Appendix containing a ' Catalogue of Astronomers, Ancient and Modern.'

[2] Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), the Dutch scholar who became a canon of Windsor, among a variety of other subjects, wrote on the tides and navigation.

[3] *I.e.* considerable.

[4] MS. ' mathematick.'

[5] See p. 140 above.

[6] See note on p. 12 above.

[7] The first Earl of Sandwich was Ambassador in Spain from May 1666 to September 1668 ; and Mr., afterwards Sir Henry, Shere was attached to his staff.

Examine Sir Robert Cotton's translation of the Parliament Rolls [1] about posts set up about England, and the ground of the mistake, if any.

Reflect upon D[uke] Dudley's book,[2] and the time when, etc.

Overlook Montgomery's book.[3]

Globes, when and where first invented, and when first here? Consult Mr. Lee,[4] etc., thereon.

How few worthies in all, and how few of them before A.D. 1500, among our seamen in Dr. Fuller's [5] List?

The sorry issue of the joint labour of our prime mathematicians in the building of the Experiment [6] soon after 1660?

Q[uaere] was not that the same (so much my memory may fail me as to the time) with the Experiment sloop built by my Register [7] in 1677 by Joseph Lawrence at Greenwich, and given Sir Thomas Allen, April 1683. If so, Lawrence will give me the whole history of her, and the philosophers concerned in her built.[8]

Q[uaere] the best and most used modern books for Navigation?

Consult Sir William Monson's characters and duties of sea-officers,[9] etc.

[1] See note on p. 306 above. [2] See note on p. 224 above.
[3] See note on p. 220 above.
[4] Mr. Lea, the globe-maker, is referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence*. The first globe was made about 150 B.C. by Crates of Mallus.
[5] See note on p. 266 above. [6] See note on p. 288 above.
[7] See Pepys's Register of Ships in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* (i. 292–3).
[8] See note on p. 18 above.
[9] 'The distinct practice, or special duties, of officers belonging to the King's ships at sea,' in Book III of Monson's *Naval Tracts* (Oppenheim, iv. 13 ff.).

Collect instances of the present imperfections of our navigators, and some actual proofs thereof.

What were the uses our ancestors applied their astronomy and other parts of mathematics to, since not to navigation ?

Consult Dr. Dee's *British Monarchy*,[1]—the beginning.

Ditto all the Epistles and Prefaces in my *Naval Tracts*.

Chaucer's qualifications of his Shipman in his Prologue,[2] and his chapter about Astronomy [3] or etc.

Mr. Hawley,[4]—May he not be said to have the most, if not to be the first Englishman (and possibly any other) that had so much, or (it may be) any competent degree (meeting in them) of the science and practice (both) of navigation ? And the inferences to be raised therefrom ? *Q.* Sir Walter Raleigh ? [5] Monson's censures of all?

Peruse Gilbert's Preface to his *Magnete*.[6]

What (if any) Nurseries for Navigation has Holland and its fellow-provinces, and the methods thereof ?

[1] See note on p. 329 above. [2] See note on p. 374 above.

[3] Possibly a reference to the *Prologue to the Man of Lawes Tale*.

[4] Edmund Halley the astronomer was also a practical seaman. See *D.N.B.*, xxiv. 106.

[5] On Raleigh's lack of nautical knowledge see Mr. Oppenheim's note in his edition of the *Naval Tracts* (i. 9 *n.*). Monson himself criticises the empiricism of English navigators (*ib.* iv. 154–5, 392. 398).

[6] *De Magnete, Magneticisque corporibus, et de Magno Magnete Tellure, Physiologia Nova* (1600), by William Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth and James I. It was ' the first great physical book published in England ' (*D.N.B.*, xxi. 338).

What proportion does Leo [1] make our sea-writers bear to those of other nations ?

Ditto does Dr. Fuller's [2] sea-worthies bear to his land-ones ?

Collect the names of all our sea-books, modern as well as ancient.

A list of the Gresham Professors [3] all, and what wrote of Navigation by any of them.

Collect the Englishmen out of Sir E. Sherbourne's Catalogue of Astronomers,[4] and from thence and Bale,[5] what they wrote of Navigation.

Consider well Mr. Wright's Epistle and Preface, and enquire after the history and success of his book of Corrections of Errors in Navigation.[6]

Enquire into the history of Englishmen's being esteemed everywhere the best gunners ; [7] with my observation thereon at Woolwich.

Observe what is observable about our last sea-charts of Collins's [8] and the King of France's.

Reflect also upon what Sir W. Raleigh wishes concerning a theory to be wrote of sea-fighting.

What imperfections in the built [9] and equipping of a ship ?

How are all our offices, viz. Commissioners, Secretaries, Clerks, etc., of the Admiralty and

[1] See note on p. 416 above. [2] See note on p. 266 above.
[3] See note on p. 124 above. [4] See note on p. 418 above.
[5] John Bale (1495–1563), Bishop of Ossory, published in 1548 *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium*—a catalogue of the writings of authors chronologically arranged.
[6] See note on p. 396 above. [7] See pp. 203–4 above.
[8] See note on p. 324 above. [9] See note on p. 18 above.

Navy filled, and officers in the yards, secretaries and clerks at sea, and admirals too, and consuls abroad, for want of persons furnished both for the pen and seamanship? And even the Council-Table and Parliament House?

Record in 1556 and Cunningham in 1559 do tell (the first Queen Mary;—the second Lord Dudley) that they were the first that wrote on the subject of Astronomy (with some application of it to Navigation) in our language.[1]

Our ignorance in the tides in this River, till lately.

Reduce all our books of Englishmen (writers or translators) into one order of date upon the subject of Navigation, Astronomy, etc., out of Sir E. Sherbourn,[2] Mansell's Catalogue,[3] my *Sea-Tracts*,[4] or other single books which I have or can gather from Thornton,[5] Lee,[6] Mordant,[7] etc., and compare and apply them. And herein consult Bale[8] for authors, and the works of those I already know.

The French had the knowledge of the verticity of the loadstone before us,—*vide Vulgar Errors*,[9] p. 49, and Fournier.[10]

Bagford[11] tells me of the sea-devotion paid

[1] See p. 398 above. [2] See note on p. 418 above.
[3] Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books* appeared in 1595.
[4] See note on p. 220 above. [5] See note on p. 324 above.
[6] See note on p. 419 above.
[7] Robert Morden (*d.* 1703), the map and globe maker.
[8] See note on p. 421 above. [9] See note on p. 398 above.
[10] See note on p. 50 above. [11] See note on p. 305 above.

at St. Katherine's,[1] but nothing (Sir G. Buck[2] shews) for Navigation.

Sir G. Buck's school account very good quite through on this account, particularly as to Gresham,[3] Whittington,[4] Sutton,[5] Chr[ist] Ch[urch] reformation,[6] St. Katherine's; Trinity House ill undertaken for by him, etc., and as ill (I think) in their account by Davis[7] or Wright.[8]

Nor, in Sir G. Buck's own very list of works which he recommends there as wanting, does he yet provide anything for Navigation.

Davis's Preface to his *Seaman's Secrets* about 1594,[9] very historical, and to be improved, especially as to globes, etc.

Consult *Arcano del Mar*,—at the N[avy] O[ffice].[10]

[1] Probably St. Katherine's by the Tower.

[2] Sir George Buc, or Buck (*d.* 1623), historian, poet, and master of the revels to James I, was the author of 'The Third Universitie of England: or a treatise of the foundations of all the colledges, auncient schooles of priviledge, and of houses of learning and liberall arts, within and about the most famous Cittie of London,' published in 1615.

[3] See note on p. 41 above.

[4] Richard Whittington (*d.* 1423), Lord Mayor of London, provided in his will for the collegiation of the Church of St. Michael de Paternoster Royal as Whittington College, but it was suppressed in 1548.

[5] See note on p. 159 above.

[6] On the reopening of the Church of the Gray Friars as Christ Church on January 3, 1547, and its connexion with Christ's Hospital, see E. H. Pearce, pp. 9, 13, 191–4.

[7] John Davys the navigator (*d.* 1605).

[8] See note on p. 396 above.

[9] *The Seaman's Secrets*, by John Davys the navigator, was published in 1594.

[10] The book is now in the Admiralty Library.

Read over Balfour's Old Sea-Laws of Scotland, —No. 1343.[1]

Ditto Kayll's discourse, dedicated to Prince Charles, called *Trade's Decrease.*[2]

Ditto, the Prefaces to my English edition of Medina's *Art of Navigation*, 1581, and that of the French, 1550 ; the original being wrote 1545.[3]

Consider Campanella's advice to the King of Spain about 1600 for the erecting Sea-Nurseries of children for Navigation, in the last chapter of his *Spanish Monarchy*, pr[inted] 1654,[4] lent me by Sir Peter Pett ; [5] translated from the Latin.

Consult Jos. Hill [6] (of Rotterdam, I think)

[1] On January 2, 1701, Pepys lent to William Nicolson, then Archdeacon of Carlisle, ' the old Sea-Law of Scotland, bound up with Balfour's Reports ' MS. folio (*Private Correspondence*, i. 361–2). The work is a copy of the *Practiques* of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich (*d.* 1583),—the earliest text-book of Scottish Law,—with a short separate treatise on sea-law bound up at the end of it. No. 1343 is the old press-mark in the Pepysian Library, changed to No. 2208 in the later notation. On the fly-leaf of the volume is written, ' Presented to the Duke of Lauderdale, by his Grace's humble servant, Geo. Mackenzie, 19 Nov. 1676.'

[2] This work has not been traced; it is not in the British Museum.

[3] Pedro de Medina's *Arte de Navegar*, Seville, 1545. The French edition of 1550 is No. 2455 in the Pepysian Library ; and the English edition, by John Frampton, *The Arte of Navigation*, 1581, is No. 2059.

[4] *De Monarchia Hispanica*, by Thomas Campanella the Italian philosopher, appeared in 1640. The English translation, *Discourse touching the Spanish Monarchy*, with a preface by Edmund Chilmead, was published in 1654.

[5] See note on p. 212 above.

[6] Mr. Joseph Hill, the Fellow of Magdalene who had once admonished Pepys for being ' overseen in drink ' when a Cambridge undergraduate (see J. R. Tanner, *Mr. Pepys*, p. 5), had been since 1678 minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam. Two letters from him, of November 16 and December 7, 1697, are printed in the *Private Correspondence* (i. 142, 145).

about globes their original, and sea-seminaries in the Provinces there.[1]

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[2] Let it be considered whether the world's falling to the enlarging the burthen of their ships from the small size that they anciently were limited to, did not spring almost all at once through all the European parts of any note for their navigation, that is to say, within one century or less, namely, upon the invention of great guns and the employment of them in sea service; and together with the increase of their burthen, the increase also of their strength in their fabric, as well for bearing the weight of their own guns as withstanding the shot of their adversaries. And whether also the same did not introduce along with it a necessity of turning their heads to the conforming themselves to this new accident in the very shape and built [3] of their ships, in every circumstance wherein their old builts [3] could by degrees be improved and made more accommodate to the use of guns. And this not only upon their ships of commerce (which were the only ships they till then had) for the securing them in their trade against enemies and pirates now armed with this new invention, but in the putting princes upon a necessity of building ships for no other use than war; and therefore at their own charges only and not their subjects', to whom ships are no otherwise of value than as they are of burthen, and not as they are of force, beyond what is needful to protect them against

[1] The last four words are inserted in Pepys's own hand.

[2] This paragraph is in the hand of John Jackson, Pepys's nephew.

[3] See note on p. 18 above.

private rovers, and not princes. A reflection that at this my first falling on, has a great deal I could instantly say upon't, especially as to its agreeableness,[1] in time and fact, with all that at present occurs to me of the history of the Navy; and I am apt to believe will be found as warrantable for the reason for it.

[2] May it not be in a great measure said, without injury to the greatest pretenders among our present tarpaulins [3] for knowledge in the *theory* as well as for *practice* in navigation, that the wideness of the sea is the best part of his security?

[4] February 28th, 1695–6. Mr. Bowdler [5] visiting me this day, gives me a late proof of the little we have to boast of over the French in our mastery in shipbuilding. It is of a French prize-vessel sold by the present Prize Office [6] as having no extra[ordinary] qualities to be recommended by her owners, of which Mr. Martin,[7] his father-in-law, is one, let her into the King's service, where he tells me she was found to be so admirable a sailer that the Lords of the Admiralty would have compelled the merchants her owners to have sold her to the King. But upon their

[1] *I.e.* consistency.

[2] This paragraph is in John Jackson's hand.

[3] MS. 'terpawlins.'

[4] The earlier part of this paragraph is in John Jackson's hand.

[5] Mr. Thomas Bowdler is several times referred to in Pepys's *Private Correspondence*, and he received mourning and a ring at his funeral. He was afterwards one of the executors of William Hewer's will.

[6] From this point the paragraph is continued in the hand of one of Pepys's copyists.

[7] Mr. Joseph Martin the elder, of Rood Lane, was one of Pepys's sureties when he was released from the Gatehouse on October 15, 1690 (*Private Correspondence*, i. 36), and he received a ring at his funeral.

threatening to petition the Parliament thereon, she was according to contract released to them. Since which, as a proof of her sailing, she being fitted forth and got to the Downs, did upon the first notice of the present embargo, February 1695–6, cut from thence and, though pursued by a man-of-war to stop her, got away and is now upon her voyage, while the whole commerce of England, and the extraordinary numbers of ships going forth thereon, do at this day, after their long attendance in the Downs, at Portsmouth, and all along upon the coast, lie embargoed and now unmanned for the supplying of the fleet of ships lately hastened out under Admiral Russel for the coast of France to prevent the expected invasion thence.[1]

N.B.—That the building of 4 or 5 ships, and those (to my best remembrance) most of them small ones (*vide* my written notices thereof) inserted particularly by the great Cromwell in his schedule[2] of meritorious performances owing to his good managements for King Henry 8th,—*vide* the names thereof in Weaver's *Funeral Monuments*.[3]

[1] Evelyn in his *Diary* (February 26, 1696) refers to the discovery of Fenwick's plot, and the associated threat of invasion from France. Apparently Pepys wrote 'Admiral Russel' by mistake for 'Admiral Rooke,' as Russell was not employed at sea after the autumn of 1695.

[2] MS. 'scedule.'

[3] 'Services done by the foresaid Cromwell unto King Henry the Eight . . .' (Weever, p. 512).

APPENDIX I[1]

An Extract of Papers in Chartophyl[acio] Regio relating to our Admiralty and Navy Affairs

PAGE

Admiralty.—In this Paper Office are deposited a great body of letters and other papers that concern the Admiralty; and particularly touching a dispute between the French and Spanish Ambassadors for a French ship put in at Weymouth 1

A debate about caution for ships going out of the English and French ports . . 1

Goods brought into a friend country.—The opinion of lawyers upon goods brought into a friend country 1

Controversy between the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and others for wrecks at Folkestone, etc. 1

Notes for sea-matters and shipping, gathered in Holland 1

The Spanish wreck, 1622 1

Visiting ships.—Contest at the Spanish Court about visiting and encumbering our ships putting into Spanish ports in their passage to other places 1

Anchorage.—Negotiation at Venice for the abolition of anchorage[2] 1

Ballastage.—Ballastage at Newcastle 1

[1] On 14 quarto pages inserted opposite p. 1 of the folio MS. volume.

[2] *I.e.* a toll or charge for anchoring.

PAGE

Pilotage.—Pilotage paid in the River of Tyne . 1

Pilotage in Istria, belonging to Venice . 1

Striking sail.—Papers and records about stooping [1] or striking sail 1

The Dutch insolency at Scarborough, 1635 [2] 1

Tobacco.—Tobacco taken from us by a Dunkirker, and declared to be victual, contrary to the opinion of lawyers and physicians 1

Opinion of lawyers about the exempting of seamen belonging to the Cinque Ports from press at London 2

Clerk of the Passage.—Lord Zouch's [3] orders to be observed by clerks of passage in the Cinque Ports . . 2

Paper about the custom of captains of the King's ships for coming ashore . . 2

Ships fighting in our seas.—Marten's [4] opinion touching men apprehended for stealing powder, how they shall be tried. (2) Concerning ships fighting in our seas in the presence of our men-of-war. (3) About such strangers as are in our roads with counterfeit colours . . 2

Captain Pennington's particulars to be expressed in his instructions for the Narrow Seas [5] 2

[1] *I.e.* lowering.

[2] On July 13, 1635, a Dutch man-of-war, the Post, of Amsterdam, boarded a Dunkirker in Scarborough; and on July 26 there was a somewhat similar encounter there between the Prince Henry, also of Amsterdam, and a Spanish frigate. See *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, July 14, 26, 29, Aug. 6, Sept. 1.

[3] Edward la Zouche, eleventh Baron Zouche of Harringworth, was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports 1615–24.

[4] Sir Henry Marten, Judge of the Court of Admiralty 1617–41.

[5] In 1631 Admiral, afterwards Sir John, Penington was admiral 'for the guard of the Narrow Seas.' On the introduction of novel features into his instructions, see T. W. Fulton, *The Sovereignty of the Sea*, pp. 261–4.

PAGE

Convoy money.—An account of the convoy-money out of the Earl of Northumberland's Journals [1] 2

Encroachments made upon the Admiralty 2

Stooping of the flag.—Earl of Leicester's letter from Paris about stooping of the flag due to the King of England's ships in the British Seas from French, Hollanders, and others [2] . 2

Salutes.—Lord Arlington's [3] papers concerning the custom of salutes of inferior flags to the Admiral in the English fleet . . . 3

A paper about the striking sail . . 3

Articles of treaty between England and France touching precedence of the English Admiral [4] 3

Sir H. Marten's [5] paper about ferriage in Ireland 3

Fees.—Judge Jenkins [6] touching fees demanded by the Duke of York as Lord Admiral of England . 3

Mr. Legat [7] (Consul at Genoa) his letter about salutes to be given in that port by the ships of strangers 3

[1] Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral 1638. For his Journals see Historical MSS. Commission, *Third Report*, p. 73, and *Sixth Report*, pp. 304, 314.

[2] In 1636 Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester, then Ambassador to France, was enquiring concerning the limits of the British Seas (Fulton, p. 264 *n.*, who, however, appears to have confused him with the Earl of Lindsey, at that time Lord High Admiral).

[3] See note on p. 371 above.

[4] Possibly the paper copied into Pepys's *Miscellanies* (v. 233) entitled 'The French King's commission to any commander-in-chief of the fleet of England, in the absence of the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, to have the command of his fleet, anno 1672.'

[5] See note on p. 430 above.

[6] See note on p. 114 above.

[7] Mr. Legatt is referred to in Pepys's *Admiralty Journal* and also in his *Admiralty Letters* (see indexes).

PAGE

Enemies' ports.—Papers of Sir William Temple's concerning trading to enemies' ports . . 3

Standard.—King James's[1] granting the new Spanish Ambassador to hang out the Spanish standard in his ships at Portsmouth . . . 3

Quarrel between the Spanish fleet and the Governor of Villa Franca[2] about the non-saluting the Castle 9

The Danish Ambassador's memorial about salutes at sea, and the English King's answer thereunto[3] 10

Head-money.—A dispute at the Court of France about head-money paid at Dover . . . 11

Paper shewing the fees and duties paid for the passage at Dover, Calais, Bulloign, Diep, and St. Valerie's 11

Touching the Dutch War and fleet . 11

Household.—Touching Household Royal papers. Store about it[4] 15

Levant.—Touching the Levant. A certificate of Trinity House about the bounds of the Levant seas 18

London and Tower.—Touching London, the Tower, etc., particularly the Lieutenant of the Tower's complaint against my Lord Mayor for coming with his officers to the Tower-hill, compassing the Tower with his Sword borne up before him, taking possession of the postern-gate . 18

Paper of abuses by the principal officers, under-clerks of the governors of ships, and the Ordnance patentees in the Office of the Ordnance 18

Scotland.—Touching Scotland. The privileges of the Scots in France 20

[1] Probably James I.

[2] Probably the port in the Azores belonging to Portugal.

[3] This may be the Danish proposal of 1669 referred to in Fulton, p. 471.

[4] Perhaps an abbreviated way of saying that there were a good many papers bearing upon this subject.

ADMIRALTY AND OTHER MARINE MATTERS

PAGE

1599.—Prize of an English ship made by those of Marseilles 29

1608.—A Venetian ship called the Soderina, taken by Ward, an English pirate,[1] and with her lading brought into the port of Tunis . . . 29

1607.—Complaints of the English merchants about those duties that were imposed on them in case of encountering with the galleys of the Venetian State 29

1610.—A contest between the French and Spanish Ambassadors touching a French ship put in at Weymouth laden with Spanish goods . . 29

1614.—A debate about caution given of such ships as are set forth out of the ports of England and France 29

1614.—English Ambassador solicited about the goods belonging to our merchants detained by the Governor of Diep 29

1611.—A discourse and reasons about the English ship called the Vineyard taken for a prize in the Archipelago by the Spaniards 1605, and now questioned in Spain 29

1624.—Ship taken by the Hollanders from the Cowes by the Isle of Wight was returned in the manner required 29

1602.—Letters and papers about a controversy between the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports[2] and Mr. Herdson for the wrecks at Folkestone . 29

1615.—A paper shewing fees and duties paid for passage at Dover, Calais, Bulloign, Diep, and St. Valerie's 29

[1] John Ward, the English pirate (*fl.* 1603–1615), was a renegade who had 'turned Turk' and made Tunis his head-quarters (see *D.N.B.*, lix. 320).

[2] Henry Brooke, eleventh Baron Cobham of Kent, Lord Warden 1597–1603.

PAGE

1602.—Mr. Richard Middleton's notes for sea matters and shipping, gathered in Holland . . 29

1624.—The Hollanders gave order to their Vice-Admiral not to meddle with the 4 Ostenders in the Downs whilst they remained under our King's protection 31

1626.—Mr. Sergeant (friend to the Lord Conway [1]) his information and queries for defence of the sea coasts 31

1636.—Sir Walter Aston [2] had a debate with the Spanish Ministers about visiting and encumbering the King his master's ships that put into the Spanish ports in their passage to other places 31

1635, 1636.—Papers and letters of Sir William Boswell [3] in the case of Poshill 31

1606, 1607.—Sir H. Wotton [4] negotiated at Venice for the abolition of anchorage, and taken away upon his solicitation 31

1629, 1633.—Papers concerning ballastage . . . 31

1683.—A contest between the town of Newcastle and the Trinity House men about strangers paying pilotage in the River of Tyne . . . 31

1611.—Sir D. Carleton [5] moved the Seignory [6] of Venice to free English ships that traffic to Venice from the subjection of going into Istria to take pilots 31

[1] Edward, Baron and afterwards Viscount Conway (*d.* 1631), was at this time a Secretary of State and Captain of the Isle of Wight.

[2] Sir Walter Aston, afterwards Baron Aston of Forfar, was Ambassador to Spain 1620–5 and 1635–8.

[3] Sir William Boswell (*d.* 1649) was Ambassador at the Hague.

[4] Sir Henry Wotton the poet was Ambassador at Venice 1604–10, 1616–19, and 1621–4.

[5] Sir Dudley Carleton was Ambassador at Venice 1610–15.

[6] MS. ' Segniory.'

PAGE

1653.—A transcript of record in the time of King John touching the striking sail,[1]—brought into the Paper Office by Mr. Ryley, 1653 . . 31

1606.—Complaints exhibited by the French Ambassador in England for matters of piracy. . . 31

1635.—Papers about the insolency offered by the Dutch at Scarborough [2] 31

1636.—Papers, and Sir H. Marten's [3] certificate, touching Whetstone (captain of the Pearl) slain by a Frenchman [4] 31

1638.—A Discourse about striking sail . . . 31

1631.—A conference between Carlton [5] and Pow [6] at the Hague about the prize taken from the Spaniards and brought into one of our English ports by Lee. Clear of Flushing. . . 31

1635.—Tobacco taken by the Dunkirkers from the English declared at Brussels to be victual, and so good prize, contrary to the opinion of divines, lawyers, and physicians . . 31

1636.—A difference between the French Ambassador and Sir Peter Wich [7] about an English ship that came from Marseilles 33

[1] The Ordinance made at Hastings, March 30, 1201, about striking sail is discussed by Fulton (pp. 39–43). There is a copy in Pepys's *Miscellanies* (iii. 228). William Ryley was at this time Norroy King-of-Arms and Clerk of the Tower Records. Pepys notes in the *Diary* on May 13, 1664, 'It is worth my remembrance that I saw old Ryly the Herald.'

[2] See note 2 on p. 430 above.

[3] See note 4 on p. 430 above.

[4] For an account of this outrage, see *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1636–7, p. 282. *Cf.* also *ib.* 1635–6, pp. 187, 227.

[5] In 1628 Sir Dudley Carleton had been created Viscount Dorchester, and in 1631 he was a Secretary of State; but he had been Ambassador at the Hague 1616–25, and again 1626–8.

[6] The Grand Pensionary, Adrian Pauw.

[7] Sir Peter Wyche the elder (*d.* 1643) was Ambassador at Constantinople.

PAGE

1637.—Sir H. Marten's [1] certificate and letter in a difference between the Company of Shipwrights of Redrith and the London Shipwrights [2] . 33

1636, 1637.—Company of Shipwrights to be exempted from land service,[3] and Mr. Attorney-General's answer against them . . 33

1636, 1639.—Papers touching the Ship-Money, and arguments about it, together with a letter of queries about the same from Mr. Leigh, Sheriff of Glocester [4] 33

1637.—A copy of Sir Henry Marten's report in the case of Mr. Henley and Mr. Philips against the States [5] 33

1635.—Dr. Reeves [6] about the exempting of seamen of the Cinque Ports from press at London, as also about the trial of such seamen as ran away after press-money received by them . 33

1627.—Sir Sackvill Trevor carrying away one of the French ships out of the Texel,[7] the French Ambassador made complaint to the States-General 33

[1] See note on p. 430 above.

[2] An account of this difference between the Incorporated Company of Rotherhithe and the free Shipwrights of the City of London is given in W. G. Perrin, *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett*, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi.

[3] On this see *ib.* pp. xxxvi–xxxviii. The Attorney-General was Sir John Bankes.

[4] References to Mr. William Leigh, Sheriff of Gloucester, in connexion with ship-money are in *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1635–6, pp. 364, 409; 1636–7, pp. 121, 134, 194, 406; 1638–9, p. 390; 1639, pp. 133–4.

[5] Sir Henry Marten's report, dated April 8, 1637, upon the petition of George Henley and Augustine Phellips, merchants of London, who had suffered by the capture of the Pelican in July 1633 by a Dutch man-of-war, is in *S. P. Dom., Charles I*, vol. ccclii.

[6] Probably Edmund Reeve (*d.* 1647), afterwards a Judge of the Common Pleas.

[7] An account of this exploit of Sir Sackvill Trevor's is given in *D.N.B.*, lvii. 227.

PAGE

1622.—Lord Zouch's [1] orders to be observed by clerks of the passage in the Cinque Ports . . 33

1626.—Dr. Reeves [2] his learned account and opinion sent to Sir Dudley Carlton, then in France,[3] about the ships and goods seized as prize pretended to by the French . . 33

1601.—Orders for reformation of prests [4] as to seamen . 33

1625.—Mr. Nicholas [5] to Captain Pennington [6] concerning the custom of captains of the King's ships for coming ashore 33

1624.—Mr. Leonard to Mr. Nicholas [5] of the Lord Warden's right for groundage [7] . . . 33

1620.—Paper about the question between the Officers of Jersey and the Signior of Samares [8] touching certain wine found floating at sea; together with Sir Tho. Coventry's [9] report and Sir H. Marten's opinion . . . 35

1626.—A paper containing Mr. Nicholas [5] his answer to the Commissioners' queries about sea rights 35

1637.—Sir H. Marten's certificate about the Earl of Portland's [10] moiety of a wreck of money

[1] See note 3 on p. 430 above. [2] See note on p. 436 above.

[3] In 1625 Carleton was sent on a special mission to France, returning in March 1626.

[4] Earnest or enlistment money paid to seamen or soldiers.

[5] Mr., afterwards Sir Edward, Nicholas was Secretary to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. In 1625 he became 'Secretary for the Admiralty.'

[6] See note 5 on p. 430 above.

[7] The reference is to a letter from William Leonard, Jurat of Dover, dated November 29, 1624, reporting that he had claimed 15*l.* groundage fees due to the Lord Warden from a ship which grounded on the Goodwin Sands but got off again (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1623–5, p. 395). See also pp. 93, 221, 367 above.

[8] This may be the well-known Guernsey family of Saumarez.

[9] Sir Thomas Coventry, afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and first Baron Coventry, was at this time Solicitor-General.

[10] Jerome Weston (1605–1663), second Earl of Portland, was Vice-Admiral of Hampshire and Governor of the Isle of Wight.

PAGE

and silver happening within his Vice-Admiralty 35

1634.—Sir H. Marten's opinion in divers matters, as touching men apprehended for stealing powder, how to be tried. Of ship fighting in the Narrow Seas in presence of the King's ships. Of such strangers as are in our roads and harbours with counterfeit colours. Striking sail, etc. 35

1637.—Remonstrance of the Dutch Ambassador concerning letters of mart [1] in the cases of Henley and others 35

1633.—Captain Pennington's particulars to be expressed in his instructions for the Narrow Seas [2] . 35

1636.—An account of the convoy-money out of the Earl of Northumberland's [3] journals . . 35

1634.—Mr. Nicholas about encroachments made on the Admiralty 35

1637.—Mr. Heron's paper for the Company of Shipwrights of Redrith [4] in answer to Mr. Stone's 35

1637.—Mr. Nicholas (Clerk of the Council) [5] touching fees for commissions of piracy . . . 35

1635.—Secretary Windebank's [6] letter to the King touching fishing and waftage [7] . . 35

1637–8.—Windebank's letter about the King's Sovereignty in the Seas 35

1638.—Earl of Leicester from Paris [8] about stooping the flag due to the King of England in the

[1] A phrase often used for letters of marque.

[2] See note on p. 430 above. [3] See note 1 on p. 431 above.

[4] See note on p. 436 above. The paper in question is in *State Papers Domestic, Charles I*, cccl xiv. 60 (see *Calendar*, July 26, 1637).

[5] Nicholas (see note on p. 437 above) had been appointed a Clerk of the Council in Ordinary in 1635.

[6] Sir Francis Windebank, appointed a Secretary of State in 1632.

[7] Convoy. [8] See note 2 on p. 431 above.

PAGE

British Seas from French, Hollanders, and others 35

1638.—A letter from Sir Arthur Hopton [1] to Secretary Windebank about the English sovereignty as to the fishing business 37

1671.—Mr. Legat (Consul at Genoa) [2] his letter about salutes to be given in that port by ships of strangers 37

1673–4.—A paper about striking sail 37

1671–2.—Articles of the treaty between England and France concerning the precedency of the English Admiral [3] 37

1671–2.—Earl of Arlington's [4] papers of the custom of salutes of inferior flags to the Admiral in the English fleet 37

1636.—Sir H. Marten's [5] concerning ferriage in Ireland 37

1672.—Rules and directions appointed by his Majesty in Council to be observed by the Court of Admiralty in the adjudication of prizes [6] . 37

167–.—Judge Jenkins's [7] opinion about fees demanded by his Royal Highness as Lord Admiral of England 37

1670.—Propositions for the securing his Majesty's ships at Chatham 37

1677.—Sovereignty about searching foreign men-of-war and other ships for the King's subjects.[8] Several papers 37

[1] In 1638 Sir Arthur Hopton was appointed Ambassador to Spain.

[2] See note 7 on p. 431 above. [3] See note 4 on p. 431 above.

[4] See note on p. 371 above. [5] See note on p. 430 above.

[6] A copy of the rules of February 22, 1664–5, is in Pepys's *Naval Precedents* (p. 601).

[7] See note on p. 114 above.

[8] In March, and again in November 1677, the Dutch challenged the right of search, but it was jealously maintained by the Admiralty Commission (see *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* vol. iv. p. xxxii).

PAGE

1675, 1676.—Papers touching the Sovereignty of the Seas 37

1677.—A narrative of the proceedings against some Dunkirkers for not striking to our King's ship Francis, tried at the Admiralty Sessions August 6 [1] 37

1623.—Letters and papers about the bold attempt of the Hollanders on a Dunkirker in one of his Majesty's ports in Scotland called Aberdeen [2] 37

1675.—Extract of Sir William Temple's [3] letter to Secretary Williamson [4] about trade to enemies' ports and revision of sentences. So with several other papers touching trading to enemies' ports 39

1674, 1675.—A bundle of papers about the Treaty Marine revisions 39

1613.—A paper shewing how the King gave the new Spanish Ambassador leave to hang out the Spanish standard in his ships at Portsmouth . 39

1677.—Order of Council about Mr. Carew's submission to the Dutch Ambassador,[5] together with other papers concerning Carew . . . 39

1616.—Proposition made by the English Ambassador at the Spanish Court for the suppressing of the Turkish pirates 39

[1] On this episode see the entries in Pepys's 'Admiralty Journal' (in *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* iv. 449, 476, 484, 488).

[2] For references to this episode, see *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1619–23, pp. 561, 582, 587, 620.

[3] See note on p. 237 above. [4] See note on p. 371 above.

[5] On September 24, 1677, a warrant was issued for the arrest of George Carew for having printed a scandalous and unlicensed paper containing matter greatly injurious to the dignity and character of the Dutch Ambassador (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1677–8, p. 376). On November 23 Carew signed a humble submission which was presented to the Ambassador, and on the following day he was discharged from his imprisonment in the Gatehouse (*ib.* 1677–8, pp. 463, 467; see also pp. 473–4).

PAGE

1606.—Complaints exhibited by the French Ambassador in England for matters of piracy. . . 39

1605.—A fight between the Spaniards and the States-General in our Channel; the Spanish men-of-war being chased into Dover Road. The papers about it 39

1625.—New placarts[1] set forth by the Archduchess that intended to the absolute dominion of the Narrow Seas 39

1635.—Grievances touching the Admiralty of Scotland in the business of fishing 39

1636.—A letter mentioning edicts in Holland against paying any acknowledgment for leave to fish; and Mr. Selden's *Mare Clausum*[2] . 39

1637, 1639.—Letters from Mr. Gerbier[3] about fishing . 39

1636.—A draught of Mr. Secretary Windebank[4] to Sir William Boswell[5] touching the fishing, by his Majesty's special commandment . . 39

1605.—The Earl of Salisbury's[6] relation of the fight between the States' ships of war [and] the Spaniards which were chased into Dover Road 41

1594.—To ——, a paper to shew our right of fishing in the Northern Seas 41

1614.—Deduction du droit que l'Estats Generaux ont pour maintenir leure sujets dans la libre pesche 41

[1] 'Placard' might be any ordinance or proclamation, but in the 17th century the form 'placart' was specially associated with the Netherlands. The 'Archduchess' is probably the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands.

[2] This had just been published (in 1635).

[3] The British agent at Brussels.

[4] See note on p. 438 above. [5] See note on p. 434 above.

[6] Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, was Secretary of State 1596–1608.

PAGE

1669.—The Danish Ambassador's memorial about salutes at sea, and his Majesty's answer to that memorial 41

1583.—A contest between the town of Newcastle and the Trinity-men about strangers paying pilotage in the River of Tyne . . . 41

1624.—A quarrel between the Spanish fleet and the Governor of Villa Franca [1] about non-saluting the Castle 41

1599.—Letters about the flaggage 41

1614.—A dispute at the French Court about head-money paid at Dover 41

1606.—Sir H. Wotton [2] negotiated at Venice for the abolition of anchorage 41

1620.—Certificate of Trinity House about the bounds of the Levant Seas [3] 41

1670.—The ordinary port charges of a ship of 150 tons . 41

Sans date.—A list of instructions for admirals and others employed at sea 41

Sans date.—A paper shewing the King's interest in the sea, etc. 41

1637.—Lord Keeper to Mr. Nicholas about fees for commissions of piracy 41

1608.—The Venetian ship called the Soderina taken by Ward, an English pirate,[4] and with her lading brought into the port of Tunis . . 43

FOREIGN TRADE, PLANTATIONS, DISCOVERIES, ETC.

1605.—A memorial of considerations to be had in the treaty touching the matters of intercourse between the English and the Spaniards . 45

[1] See note on p .432 above. [2] See note on p. 434 above.
[3] This certificate, dated May 13, 1620, is in *S. P. Dom., James I.*, vol. cxv.
[4] See note on p. 433 above.

PAGE

1582.—Trade in Turkey under the French banner . 45

1612, 1613.—Papers concerning whale-fishing . . 45

1605.—A certificate of the prerogatives of the Scotch merchants in France above the English . 47

1656.—Articles between the usurper Cromwell and the Lord La Tour [1] and others about lands in America 47

1650, 1651, 1652.—Papers touching the Hanse Towns . 47

1610.—Dutch endeavouring to trade into the Turkish dominions under their own banner . . 50

1606.—A copy of a letter from Roan [2] about the privileges of the Scots in France . . . 50

1601.—Scottish privileges in France 50

1617.—A letter about mutual impositions by the English and French on merchants 51

1583.—A contest between the town of Newcastle and the Trinity-men about strangers paying pilotage in the River of Tyne . . . 52

1612.—A particular tribunal moved for, to be erected in Spain for the ending of all English causes . 52

1688.—A copy of a letter to his Majesty from the Senate of Lübeck about their free navigation . . 55

1672.—Observations upon the project for a new treaty of commerce between Portugal and England, together with other papers as to the project itself 56

1576.—A summary deduction of what passed concerning the Hanse Towns 57

[1] Charles St. Etienne, Lord de la Tour, the founder of the colony of New Brunswick. The warrant for these articles, dated July 14, 1656, is in *State Papers Colonial*, vol. xiii.

[2] Rouen.

PAGE

1624.—Arguments against the Dutch pretended sovereignty and jurisdiction in the East Indies, by Mr. Messeldene [1] and Mr. Barlow . . 57

FISHING, GREENLAND, ETC.

1638.—Sir Henry Marten's [2] Report touching the cause of the scarcity of oysters 61

1618.—King James to Sir Dudley Carlton, commanding that no stranger shall be fishing within kenning of the land [3] 61

1618.—What order the Holland-fishers have used to keep with relation to the English fishermen fishing at the same time 61

1617, 1618.—Letters and other papers about the insolency offered to Browne by the Holland-fishers in the Scottish coast [4] . . . 61

1636.—Commissioners of the Admiralty to the Earl of Northumberland [5] about the fishery in the King's Seas 61

[1] Edward Misselden, the merchant and economic writer, was acting in 1624 as a commissioner for the East India Company to negotiate a private treaty with the Dutch; and Robert Barlow, the East India merchant, was his fellow-commissioner.

[2] See note on p. 430 above.

[3] This letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated May 4, 1618, is printed in Fulton, p. 176 *n*. It instructed Carleton to inform the States-General that no strangers could fish 'either within the creeks of our land or within a kenning of the land as seamen do take a kenning.'

[4] 'Maister Johnne Browne' was one of the agents of the Duke of Lennox, the Admiral of Scotland, to whom had been granted the right to an excise on all herrings taken north of Buchan Ness, and in 1616 the Duke sent him to collect the 'assize herrings' from the Dutch fishermen off the Scottish coast. At first the tax was paid, but in 1617 Browne was seized by a Dutch warship and carried off a prisoner to Holland. He was afterwards liberated with an apology (see Fulton, pp. 166–173).

[5] See note on p. 431 above. The Admiralty's instructions to the Earl of Northumberland, then in command of the fleet, are dated April 7, 1636 (Fulton, p. 289).

PAGE

1635.—An abstract of a proclamation about the King's prerogative in the seas for fishing [1] . . 61

1636.—An account of the acknowledgment-money taken of the Holland fishermen [2] . . 61

1635.—Sir H. Marten's paper about the fishermen of Milton sued by the Lady Tenham [3] in the Court of Wards 62

1635.—A letter sent into Scotland about grievances in the fishing business and Association . . 62

1690.—Proceedings and orders about the fishing in the River of Thames 62

1609.—Reasons used by the Hollanders for their continuance of fishing, contrary to the King's proclamation [4] 62

1630.—Reasons given at Court of the want of fish in general 62

1631.—A letter from the King of Denmark about the fishing in Iceland 62

1633.—Sir Theodore Mayerne's [5] petition about licensing oysters to be exported, and reasons against it 62

A paper of the distance the Hollanders are to keep in their fishing upon the coast of England 63

[1] Probably the proclamation of May 10, 1636, described in Fulton, p. 293.

[2] The official journal of Northumberland's voyage of 1636 contains 'An Account of the Acknowledgment Money taken of the Holland Fishermen,' amounting to £501 15*s.* 2*d.* A facsimile of the schedule of payments is printed in Fulton (p. 310), and it is evidently a copy of this schedule that is referred to in the text.

[3] Possibly the widow of John Roper, third Baron Teynham. Milton is a village on the creek of that name, near Sittingbourne and about four miles west of Teynham. There is a reference to the case in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1635, p. 47.

[4] James I's proclamation of May 6, 1609, 'for the restraint of foreigners fishing on the British coasts,' is printed in Fulton (p. 755).

[5] On the distinguished physician Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), see *D.N.B.*, xxxvii. 150.

PAGE

Sir Henry Manwayring's Discourse about the French fishing upon the Zow, their abusing it, and their remedy [1] . . . 63

Several sheets shewing at what distance from the coast of England the Holland-fishers have used to keep by his Majesty's men-of-war in their herring-fishing . . . 63

TRADE OR COMMERCE DOMESTIC

1631.—Mr. Attorney Noy's [2] Report about the King's coal mines at Newcastle 66

1634.—A paper about salt works. 66

1637.—Papers touching the salt business . . . 66

1634.—Mr. Atheral's [3] paper about the abuses of making cordage 66

1607.—Speeches uttered by the Attorney-General in Spain at the Court, of war against the Kings of England's title of Defender of the Faith . 86

[1] This is in *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I*, clxxx. 96. The Zowe or Sowe was a bank off Rye, and by custom 'time out of mind' the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports had granted licenses to a certain number of French fishermen to fish there, ostensibly to supply fresh fish for the table of the King of France (Fulton, p. 65). The *Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring*, edited by G. E. Manwaring and W. G. Perrin, has been published by the Navy Records Society.

[2] William Noy, Attorney-General 1631–4.

[3] Robert Atherall was master-workman for making cordage at Woolwich (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1634–5, pp. 14, 300).

APPENDIX II [1]

1654

Captain Foster's Discourse with a Dutch Skipper how the English came to beat the Dutch at sea; given me by Mr. Gibson.[2]

In anno 1659, accidentally meeting with Captain Foster (who commanded the Phoenix in 1654), I renewed my acquaintance with him at Plymouth and invited him to a cup of beer, which he accepting, among other discourses this happened.

Mr. Gibson (saith Foster), You may remember that in April 1654, in company of the Assistance upon the Doggar Bank, I took a Dutch ship richly loaden with all sorts of drapery, linen, grocery, swords, pistols, etc., going from Amsterdam to lie up for a store-ship all summer at Stockholm; and having the invoices of all his cargo delivered me by the skipper, I was by it enabled to serve myself. Upon which account I treated him in a friendly manner, it proving to his advantage as well as mine. I having been in the East Indies in the Dutch service, spoke the Dutch tongue well, but there was no need of that, for the Dutch skipper spoke very good English, and was an understanding man. One day after dinner (over a bottle and pipe) I told him that the Lords States-General of Holland being men of great abilities in state affairs, I did very much wonder they should be so much overseen [3] as to begin a war with the English when (like eagle's wings extended over her body) our

[1] Four pages, in the hand of John Jackson, Pepys's nephew, inserted between p. 386 and p. 387 of the MS. volume. The substance of this document has appeared in *The Naval Miscellany* (ii. 167–8); and the document itself has been printed in *The First Dutch War*, 1652–4 (i. 31–3)—both publications of the Navy Records Society.

[2] See note on p. 23 above.

[3] Mistaken.

coast surrounded theirs for 120 leagues from Scilly to the Maese [1] in Holland one way, and as many from the Orcades [2] thither the other way, and the wind blowing above ¾ of the year westerly on the coast of England, made all our cape-lands and bays very good roads for ships. So that converting our fisher-boats into vessels of war, we could with them only soon put a stop to all your trade from France, Biscay, Portugal, Spain, the Streights, Barbary, etc., through the Channel to Holland; or force you to a circumnavigation round Ireland (as your East India ships do) from all those places home. And having Ireland to clean ships at and victual, could easily intercept your trade that way also.

To which the Dutch skipper replied, that what I said was true, but they having newly ended a successful war against the Spaniard, had many ships of war that sailed well, and many brave sea-commanders; and that the English had then but a small navy (that a smart fight or 2 would, like a man that had but one pair of breeches and them torn, be forced to lie in bed till they be mended) they intended to lock up our ports and stop our coal-trade, and thereby force us to a peace upon their own terms. Besides, if all failed, they had our King on their side of the water, and (we being a divided people) doubted not of securing themselves by their espousing his interest. But, saith the skipper, we fell into this mishap by an unforeseen accident thus:—

The Prince of Orange endeavouring to seize the Bank of Amsterdam, and being prevented from doing it, and dying soon after,[3] the Lords States-General, to hinder the like attempt (in the non-age of the present Prince) turned out all his father's creatures by sea and land and put in gentlemen, creatures of their own. And your Parliament by a like jealousy, put out all the King's gentlemen-captains and put in seamen-captains, creatures

[1] Maas. [2] Orkneys.

[3] William II, Prince of Orange, died suddenly on October 26, 1650. His son, afterwards William III of England, was born on November 4, eight days after his father's death.

of their own. Thus (saith the Dutch skipper) we came to fight you with gentlemen commanders at sea, and you us with seamen commanders of your ships, and by this means you came to beat us.

But if ever hereafter we shall fight with the English for the mastery of the sea with seamen-commanders and you us with gentlemen-commanders, we shall beat you.

INDEX

ABERDEEN, 440
Accounts. *See* Public Accounts
Adams, John, topographer, 165, 165 *n.*, 188
Addison, Joseph, 1 *n.*
Admiral, Admirals, 186, 333, 418, 422 ; under the Romans, 285 ; King Edgar's, 66, 106 ; under Henry III, 94 ; Pepys's list of, 106, 106 *n.* ; French list of, 108 ; instructions for, 442 ; orders sent direct to the admirals at sea, and not through the Admiralty, 217, 307 ; imputations upon, 119 ; public censure of (1693), 337, 338 ; 'the three' admirals, 337, 337 *n.*, 338, 339 ; admirals' commissions for small ships, 158 ; envious name of 'admiral' applied to Pepys, 198 ; few admirals have raised great estates, 191 ; precedence accorded to English admiral by the French in 1672, 431, 431 *n.*, 439
Admiral of Castile, 91, 223, 369 ; of Denmark, 389 ; of the Narrow Seas, 387 ; of Scotland, 137, 138, 138 *n.*, 209 ; of the Galleys in France, 167, 167 *n.* ; admiral called steerman among the Danes, 98–9 ; Spanish admiral in 1588, 219, 366 ; admiral against Spain unacquainted with sea service (1626), 235
Admiral, Lord High, 45, 55, 59, 66, 67, 74, 119, 138, 138 *n.*, 157, 171, 174 *n.*, 175, 179, 182, 184, 185, 196, 222, 262, 263, 267, 324, 337, 348, 349, 349 *n.*, 350, 369, 389, 405, 408 *n.*, 409, 409 *n.* ; history of the office of, 233 *n.* ; France had it before England, 385 ; precedence of the, 1, 1 *n.*, 62 ; at the Coronation, 157 ; in France, 82 ; fees of the, 11, 431, 439 ; lists of Admirals, 233, 382 ; instructions for (1673), 151, 151 *n.* ; secretary of, 39, 167 ; council of, 131 ; books of, 167 ; carved trophies of, 78 ; no staff of office for, 136 ; need of a powerful and vigilant Admiral, 195 ; great men amongst them, 103 ; few seamen, 53 ; 'men of pleasure, 183 ; great courtiers without sea experience, 185 ; none properly qualified but the Duke of York, 338 ; Charles II as Admiral, 197 *n.* *See also* Admiral.
Admiral, Deputy Lord High, 191, 191 *n.* ; Vice-Admiral of England, 40, 131, 387 ; Rear-Admiral, 131

ADMIRALTY

Admiralty, 35, 54 *n.*, 57 *n.*, 113, 178, 188, 198, 307, 335, 408, 408 *n.*; *Black Book of the*, 62, 62 *nn.*, 410; papers relating to the affairs of the, 121, 429–46; encroachments upon the, 431, 438; passports out of the, 191; seal of the, 91, 151; persons of experience to be employed in the, 292, 292 *n.*, 298

Admiralty, Dutch, 111; of France, 172; of Scotland, 441

Admiralty, Commissioners of the, (Board of Admiralty), 57, 57 *n.*, 143, 252, 254, 264, 292 *n.*, 426; their ignorance, 133, 259; landmen made Commissioners, 147; experience said to be unnecessary, 292, 293; resignations, 259, 295, 298

Admiralty Commission of 1636, 444, 444 *n.*

Admiralty Commission of 1673, 71, 71 *n.*, 197 *n.*, 216

Admiralty Commission of 1679, 2 *n.*, 80, 80 *n.*, 133 *n.*, 151, 160 *n.*, 180, 180 *n.*, 181, 181 *n.*, 194 *n.*, 216, 251, 258 *n.*, 313 *n.*, 357 *n.*, 358 *n.*; their ignorance, 71, 133, 357; and debauchery, 133; Pepys depended on to keep them right, 72; failure of their method of controlling storekeepers, 116; brought in by popular constraint, 194; only one member voted for the 30 new ships, 219; refused to follow Pepys's rules, 237, 365

Admiralty Commissions of William III, 216, 260, 293, 311, 389, 395; charged with want of experience (1692), 217; shameful ignorance of (1693), 321; vote in criticism of (1693), 218–19, 218 *n.*, 270; abjectness of their spirits, 320; their subjection to the Cabinet, 320

Admiralty, Commissions of Oyer and Terminer in the, 399, 408

Admiralty, Court of, 39, 57, 82, 155, 275, 319, 322 *n.*, 410, 411, 412, 439, 440; Coke on the, 70; proceedings of the, 85; Act of Henry VIII for trials in the, 70, 85; silver oar the badge of the, 136, 136 *n.*, 177, 313, 313 *n.*

Admiralty, Judge of the, 409

Admiralty, Journal of the (1628–1634), 96, 96 *n.*; (1674–1679), 31, 31 *n.*, 59, 59 *n.*, 66

Admiralty, jurisdiction of the, 46 *n.*, 59 *n.*, 66, 249; laws of the, 82, 137, 155, 168; laws of France, 407, 407 *n.*

Admiralty Office, stationers' ware and candles for the, 2; no settled office for the Admiralty, 232, 380

Admiralty, Officers of the, 194; offices in the, how filled, 421

Admiralty, Secretary of the, 39 *n.*, 196, 198; no man fit for the office, 232, 338, 381; except Sir William Coventry, 338; list of secretaries (1660–1688), 291; Pepys's patent (1684), 272, 272 *n.*; Secretary of the Admiralty in Holland, 111

Admiranda, 123–5

Ænham, Council of, 330, 340

Agelius Grammaticus, 290, 290 *n.*

Aglionby, William, 392 *n.*

Agricola, 287

Agrippa, Marcus Vipsanius, 122, 122 *n.*

Aguillan, Richard, *custos marinae*, 60, 60 *n.*
Albemarle, Duke of, 41; his undervaluing the Dutch, 49. *See also* Monk
Albeville, Marquis d', 399, 399 *n.*
Ale from Gallia, 146
Ale-conner, 172, 172 *n.*
Alexander III of Scotland, 297 *n.*
Alfred (King), 12
Algerines, 18, 173, 232, 380
Algiers, treaty with (1682), 180
Allegiance, transfer of, 295, 296
Alligators, Island of, 4 *n.*
Allin, Sir Thomas, Comptroller of the Navy, 69, 224, 258, 258 *n.*, 288 *n.*, 289, 419
Almanacs, 397, 417
Altum Mare, 156
America, 4, 52, 443
Amsterdam, 50, 123 *n.*, 239, 430 *n.*, 447; Bank of, 448
Anchorage, 429, 434; fees for, 442
Anchors, sweeping for, 249
Andrews, Sir Mathew, 183, 183 *n.*, 333, 333 *n.*
Angell, Justinian: his light-houses, 199, 199 *n.* 202, 202 *n.*
Anglesey, taking of (1282), 158 *n.*
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 336, 336 *n.*
Anthony Anthony's Declaration of the Royal Navy (1546), 101, 101 *n.*, 193, 193 *n.*
Antipodes, a bishop martyred for asserting the, 378
Antoninus Pius (Emperor), 285
Antwerp, 54 *n.*, 230, 230 *n.*, 379
Apostles, the, 167
Arcano Del Mar, 423
Archery, 164, 396, 397; allowance for archers in the Isle of Wight, 323. *See also* Bows and arrows.
Archipelago, 433
Arlington, Earl of, a Secretary of State, 200, 200 *n.*, 371, 371 *n.*, 431, 439
Arms, coats of, 63, 89, 169, 215, 274; of maritime towns, 274; of Bristol, 101; of the Officers of the Navy, *ib.*; of the Fishmongers' Company, *ib.*; a ship borne as, 101, 294. *See also* Crests
Arquebus. *See* Harquebus
Arthur (King), 330
'Artists,' idleness and presumption of, 228, 375
Arville, Nicolas d', 132 *n.*
Ascension, Island of, 177
Ascension Dinner at the Navy Office, 389
Ashby, [Sir] John, 214, 286 *n.*; is questioned in Parliament (1692), 216, 216 *n.*; is said to have died of drink, 339, 339 *n.*
Ashley, Sir Anthony, Clerk to the Privy Council, 12 *n.*, 19, 19 *n.*, 42, 46, 47, 58, 229, 305, 305 *n.*, 377; Pepys's account of his translation of Waghenaer (1588), 347–50
Ashmole, Elias, the antiquary, 63, 63 *n.*, 66
'Assize herrings,' 444 *n.*
Aston, Sir Walter, Ambassador to Spain, 434, 434 *n.*
Astronomy, 158, 159, 398, 420, 422; books on, 422
Athenaeus, 103
Atherall, Robert, 446, 446 *n.*
Atkins, Mr., a Commissioner of the Navy, 293, 293 *n.*
Atlas Ituliae, 123, 123 *n.*
Atrius, Quintus, 285
Attorney-General, 399, 436
Attorneys get great estates, 163
Aubrey, John, antiquarian, 306, 306 *n.*

AUDITORS

Auditors of Imprest, 265
Auditors' offices, 279
Augean stables, 309
Ayscue, Sir George, 143 *n.*; in the Swedish service, 304 *n.*; a landman, made general-at-sea, 147; taken prisoner by the Dutch (1666), 346 *n.*

BACON, Friar, story of his brazen wall, 125, 125 *n.*, 394
Bacon, Lord, 87, 88, 114, 114 *n.*, 166, 179, 416; on sea affairs, 181
Bagford, John, book collector, 305, 305 *n.*, 422
Baker, Matthew, master-shipwright, 41
Baker, Mr., 89
Baker, Sir Richard, 63, 63 *n.*
Baldivia, 4 *n.*
Bale, John, Bishop of Ossory, 421, 421 *n.*
Balfour, Sir James, his old sea-law of Scotland, 424, 424 *n.*
Ballads against the Dutch, 49
Ballastage, 125, 125 *n.*, 434; at Newcastle, 429
Banians, the, 105
Bankers, 71
Bankers' Case, 71, 71 *n.*, 72, 73, 79
Bankes, Sir John, Attorney-General, 436 *n.*
Banqueting House, 392
Bantry Bay, battle of (1689), 339 *n.*
Barbados, 292 *n.*
Barbarians, incursions by the, 301
Barbary, 448
Barbot, Monsieur, a French merchant, 286
Barge-maker, 394

BERKELEY

Barges, 125; Lord Mayor's, 170; western, 163, 384
Barlow, Robert, East India merchant, 444, 444 *n.*
Barlow, Thomas, formerly Clerk of the Acts, 96, 96 *n.*
Barlow, William, Archdeacon of Salisbury, 42, 42 *n.*, 415, 415 *n.*, 416 *n.*
Barquès, 55 *n.*
Barr, Mr. Peter, 407, 407 *n.*
Barton, 'Sir' Andrew, Scottish naval commander, 186, 186 *n.*
Basil the Macedonian (Emperor), 236
Basle, 236, 236 *n.*
Bass-ropes, 104
Bastardy, 215, 295
Batavia, Dutch Governor of, 177
Batten, Sir William, Surveyor of the Navy, 69; owned a lighthouse, 202
Bay, definition of a, 163
Baylie, Francis, shipbuilder at Bristol, 200, 200 *n.*
Beachy Head, 225, 344, 372; action off (1690), 35 *n.*, 294 *n.*
Beacons, 131, 152 *n.*, 160; due to fear of invasion, 182, 234, 382; beacon-chart, 392
Beane, Mr., his towing-engine, 231 *n.*
Beaufort, Duc de, French Admiral, 143, 143 *n.*
Becket. *See* St. Thomas
Beckman, [Sir] Martin, engineer, 29, 29 *n.*
Bede, 302
Bedford, Mr. Thomas, Register of the Admiralty, 407, 409, 410, 410 *n.*, 411, 412
Beech, 250
Beer, 331, 331 *n.*, 447
Beggars, 147 *n.*
Belle Isle, 126, 143
Berkeley of Stratton, Charles, second Baron, 145

BERKELEY

Berkeley of Stratton, John, first Baron, a Commissioner of the Navy, 257, 257 *n.*
Berkshire, 283
Berry, Sir John, 251; acquitted of blame for the loss of the *Gloucester*, 149, 149 *n.*
Bertie, Mr., built a merchant-ship abroad, 246
Berwick, 138, 138 *n.*, 139
Best, Mr. Phineas, 340
Best bower cable, forfeiture of, 221, 367
Bethel, Slingsby, the republican, 153, 153 *n.*
Betts, Mr., a gunner, 214, 214 *n.*
Betts, Mr., a pilot, 5 *n.*
Beuningen, Conrad van, Dutch Ambassador, 116, 116 *n.*
Beverley, privileges of, 141, 141 *n.*
Bilanders, 345, 345 *n.*
Bilge-stinks, mischief of, 248
Birch, Captain Augustus, 144, 144 *n.*, 150
Biscay, Bay of, 317, 327, 339, 448
Bishops, 300, 397; folly of the, 303; serving as admirals, 336, 336 *n.*
Bizot, Sieur, 275 *n.*
Black Deeps, ground pilot of the, 60
Black Tail, wreck on the, 145 *n.*
Blackwall, 163 *n.*
Blaeuw, William Jansen, his maps, 123, 123 *n.*
Blake, Admiral Robert, 112; his covetousness, 26
Blanc, François le, 295 *n*
Blathwayt, Mr William, Secretary to the Committee of Trade, 20, 20 *n.*, 238, 371
Blockhouses, at Gravesend, 230, 230 *n.*, 232, 379, 380; that at Tilbury wrongly placed, 205

BRADY

Blois, Treaty of (1572), 208 *n.*
Blount, Thomas, 337, 337 *n.*
Blue Coat boys, to keep journals, 369–70. *See also* Christ's Hospital
Boat-builder, 163, 394
Boats, 308, 311; of the Greenlanders, 85; of wicker, 86
Boatswain, 115, 160
Bodleian Library at Oxford, 8, 287
Boldham, William, 75
Boorde, Andrew, traveller and physician, 335, 335 *n.*
Bordeaux, 227, 344; river of, 32
Boreman, Sir William: his naval foundation at Greenwich, 288, 288 *n.*, 416
Borough, Stephen, the navigator, 42, 42 *n.*
Borough, William, navigator and author, 229, 229 *n.*, 378
Boswell, Sir William, Ambassador at the Hague, 434, 434 *n.*, 441
Boteler. *See* Butler
Boulogne, 54, 54 *n.*, 203, 203 *n.* 314, 314 *n.*, 432, 433
Bourne, William, the mathematician: his Discourse of the Navy, 137, 137 *n.*
Boxhorn, Marcus Zuerius, 90, 90 *n.*, 117
Bow Lane, 322 *n.*
Bow-line, the, 173 *n.*, 193; invention of, 231, 297, 379; Algerines, sail by, 173
Bowdler, Mr. Thomas, 426, 426 *n.*
Bowling, 169
Bows and arrows, used by the Britons, 287; ignorance of the English in, 310, 310 *n.*
Brady, Dr. Robert, Keeper of the Records in the Tower, 42, 42 *n.*, 99, 99 *n.*, 153 *n.*, 164, 164 *n.*, 279, 279 *n.*, 327, 328

BRANDON

Brandon, Sir Charles, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, 120 *n.*
Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeilles, Seigneur de, 306, 306 *n.*
Brass-mount, 138
Brazil, 162
Breackell, —, 345
Brest, 21, 184 *n.*, 185, 227, 246, 371, 375 : our fleets frighted from, 120
Bridewell, 413 *n.*
Bridgeman, Mr. William, Secretary of the Admiralty, 118, 147, 147 *n.*, 151, 393, 393 *n.*, 399
Bridlington (Burlington) Bay, survey of, 135
Brigantine, 55, 122, 122 *n.*, 340
Brisbane, Mr. John, Secretary of the Admiralty, 227, 257, 257 *n.*, 371, 374
Bristol, 200, 200 *n.*, 409, 410, 411, 412 ; arms of, 101
Bristol, George Digby, second Earl of, 355, 355 *n.*
Bristol, John Digby, third Earl of, 209, 209 *n.*
Britain, 103. *See also* Great Britain
British Seas, 431, 431 *n.* ; salute due in the, 439
Britons, 284, 285, 287 ; did not know this country to be an island, 122 ; small eaters of fish, 294 ; had no shipping, 308 ; seamanship of, 310, 311 ; used fish-bones as handles for their swords, 310, 385, 385 *n.*
Brittany, 228 *n.* ; invasion from, 88, 182 *n.*
Brittany, Duke of, 88
Broad arrow, 307, 307 *n.*, 311, 337
Brooke House, Holborn, 152, 212, 263, 263 *n.* *See also* Public Accounts

BURY

Brouncker, Mr. Henry, 152 ; impeachment of, 119, 119 *n.*
Brouncker, William, Viscount, P.R.S., 127
Browne, Captain, at the Trinity House, 58
Browne, Mr. John, insolency offered to, by the Dutch (1617), 444, 444 *n.*
Browne, Sir Thomas, 93, 93 *n.*, 305, 305 *n.*, 398, 398 *n.*
Brussels, 435
Buc, Sir George, historian and poet, 423, 423 *n.*
Buccaneers, 148
Buchanan, George, historian, 302, 302 *n.*
Buckingham, George Villiers, first Duke of, 11, 78, 174, 175 ; impeachment of, 131, 131 *n.*, 174 *n.*, 175, 175 *n.* ; advised to lay down his Admiralship, 260
Bugia Bay, battle of, 340 *n.*
Bumpkins, 16 *n.* ; invented by Charles II, 16
Buoys, 6, 44, 59, 65, 84, 131, 144, 343. *See also* Sea-marks
Burchardus, 287
Burchett, Josiah, Secretary of the Admiralty, 393, 393 *n.*
Burgesses, 99
Burghley, William Cecil, Lord, 31, 85 *n.*, 151, 307, 396 ; appointed Deputy Lord Admiral, 191, 191 *n.* ; project dedicated to, 304, 304 *n.*
Burgus, Petrus Baptista, 118
Burlington, Richard Boyle, Earl of, 386, 386 *n.*
Burnet, Dr. Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, 27, 296, 296 *n.*, 314, 314 *n.*
Burrell, Mr. William, his services on the Commission of 1618, 279, 279 *n.*
Bury, Mr., the globe-maker, 117, 122 ; maps, 120

Buscarli, 185
Busenello, 109 *n.*
Bushnell, Edmund, 240 *n.*, 351 *n.*
Busses, print of, 306, 306 *n.*
Butler, James, fifth Earl of Salisbury, appointed a guardian of the sea, 172
Butlerage at the Coronation, 190
Buxey Spit, buoy on, 144, 144 *n.*
Byas, 101
Byland, Edward, shipwright, 14 *n.*, 15

Cabala of Letters, 151, 151 *n.*, 233, 307, 381
Cabinet, the, sends orders direct to the admirals at sea, 217; over the heads of the Admiralty, 320
Cabins, 7, 7 *n.*: regulation of, 102
Cabot, John, 378, 378 *n.*
Cabot, Sebastian, the cosmographer, 60, 60 *n.*, 229, 229 *n.*, 238, 378, 378 *n.*
Cadiz, 33, 113, 196; expedition to (1596), 173 *n.*
Caesar, 70, 86, 284, 285, 287, 294, 302, 308, 310, 325, 385; small size of his ships, 86; his account of English navigation, 161
Caesar, Sir Charles, 121, 121 *n.*
Caesar, Sir Julius, 121, 121 *n.*, 191, 191 *n.*
Caesarea, Josephus's account of the port and mole of, 96
Calais, 54 *n.*, 86, 344, 385 *n.*, 392: loss of, 154; lost for want of mustard, 167, 167 *n.*; privateers from, 342; fees paid for the passage at, 432, 433
Callis, Mr., 244 *n.*
Calvinists, 321

Cambridge, 417; mathematical professor at, 81
Camden, William, the antiquary, 22, 22 *n.*, 141, 190, 212, 233, 275, 299, 381, 395, 395 *n.*; beauty of his original maps of England, 123
Campanella, Thomas, Italian philosopher, 424, 424 *n.*
Camuille, Richard de, 161 *n.*
Canes, 340
Canoes, 207; of Greenland, 274
Canterbury, Archbishop of, 173; liable for guard of the coast, 282–3
Canvas, 75
Capel, Sir Henry, Admiralty Commissioner, 181 *n.*
Caper, 16
Capitanei marinariorum, 282, 283, 327
Captives, relief of, 179 *n.*
Car-men, Fellowship of, 397
Carausius, Caius, 285; naval power of, 98, 98 *n.*
Carbery, John Vaughan, Earl of, Admiralty Commissioner, 295, 295 *n.*
Cards, 164
Carew, Mr. George, merchant, 56, 56 *n.*; his insult to the Dutch Ambassador (1677), 440, 440 *n.*
Carleton, Sir Dudley, Ambassador, 434, 434 *n.*, 435, 435 *n.*, 437, 437 *n.*, 444, 444 *n.*
Carlingford, 81, 81 *n.*, 299
Carlton, East, 328, 328 *n.*
Caron, Claude, 396, 396 *n.*
Carpenter, 150, 323
Carr, William, 110, 110 *n.*
Carrack, Spanish, 159 *n.*
Carteret, Sir George, Treasurer of the Navy, 17, 17 *n.*, 223, 224, 361, 361 *n.*, 369, 371; in the French Service, 32, 32 *n.*; Comptroller of the Navy, 32

CARTHAGINIAN

Carthaginian galleys, 292
Cartridges, use of, learned from the French, 354
Castell, Dr. Edmund, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, 123, 123 *n.*
Castile, Admiral of, 91, 223, 369
Castle, Mr. William, shipbuilder, 241
Castlemaine, Lady, 189 *n.*
Castles, in Domesday Book, 99; England's security in, 335
Castra, 302
Catholics, 102
Caution-money for ships, 429, 433
Cavendish (Candish), Thomas, the explorer, 6, 6 *n.*, 10, 63, 63 *n.*, 64, 64 *n.*
Caxton, William, 336 *n.*
Cecil, William. *See* Burghley
Cedrinus, George, 236, 236 *n.*
Celts, 285
Certificates, little confidence to be placed in, 251
Chamberlayne, Dr. Edward, 59, 59 *n.*, 355 *n.*
Chamier, Monsieur, French minister, 286, 286 *n.*
Channel, the, 196, 317, 327, 340, 441, 448
Chaplains, naval, 76, 76 *n.*; establishment for (1677), 76, 76 *n.*
Charant, Sir Alphonso, a Spanish knight, 185 *n.*
Charles I ('the old King'), 17, 34 *n.*, 103, 109, 109 *n.*, 112, 154, 155, 173, 175, 176, 223, 224, 322 *n.*, 369, 371, 386, 424 (?)
Charles II ('the King'), 3, 11, 11 *n.*, 12, 17, 23, 28, 32, 44, 44 *n.*, 51, 53, 56, 57, 89, 107, 114, 115, 120, 127, 149 *n.*, 150, 162, 165 *n.*, 183, 188,

CHARLES

204, 213, 219 *n.*, 221, 223, 224, 225, 237 *n.*, 241, 242 *n.*, 243, 243 *n.*, 244, 253, 259, 270, 272, 273, 276, 288 *n.*, 304 *n.*, 309, 354, 357, 357 *n.*, 360, 361, 363, 365 *n.*, 367, 369, 372, 376, 387, 387 *n.*, 400, 401, 401 *n.*, 404, 405, 408, 448; Coronation of, 58, 58 *n.*, 190; his knowledge of the sea, 62, 71, 73, 84, 194; his interest in shipbuilding, 115, 200, 394; his endeavours in reference to the Navy, 142; a mathematical Admiral, 418; his design for a yacht, 116, 116 *n.*, 128; with two masts, 220, 366; disclaims the double-bottomed vessel, 203; his views on upright stems, 14; invents bumpkins, 16; increases the dimensions of the 30 new ships, 13, 318; thinks English ships the best, 220, 366; his accessibility, 194; his facility and good nature, 253 *n.*, 271; his institution of Greenwich Observatory, 388, 388 *n.*; on surveying, 133; on engineers, 29; on the ignorance of seamen, 133; table of tides compiled for, 305 *n.*; becomes his own general of the land forces (1670), 41; his wide powers as Lord High Admiral (1673–9), 197 *n.*; dissolves the Commission of 1673–9, 71, 71 *n.*; criticises the Commission of 1679, 116; admits the Crown's debt to Pepys, 272 *n.*; Pepys in defence of, 318, 326; wager on his life (?), 376–7; his last illness, 261, 265. *See also* Christ's Hospital, Mathematical Foundation in

CHARLES

Charles the Great (Emperor), 287
Charles V (Emperor), 54 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 60 *n.*, 229 *n.*, 231 *n.*
Charles IX of France, 306
Charles X of Sweden, 304 *n.*
Charles XI of Sweden, 304 *n.*
Charta de Foresta, 161
Charterhouse, the, 159, 159 *n.*
Charts, draughts, maps, 12 *n.*, 19, 95 *n.*, 105, 105 *n.*, 106, 117, 117 *n.*, 120, 123, 123 *n.*, 135, 136, 145, 238, 239, 304, 388, 392, 403, 404; excellence of the Dutch, 19, 21; their superiority to the English, 12, 106, 113; our mistaken dependence on them, 221, 367; our charts all borrowed from Waghenaer, 224, 370; and engraved in Holland, 305; few printed in England, 238; sea-maps made in France, 122; their excellence, 316; Spanish and Portuguese charts, 107, 229, 378; defects of charts, 229 *n.*; Collins's maps, 324, 324 *n.*, 325, 421; Mercator's, 159; Seller's, 12, 42, 345; Speed's, 201, 201 *n.*; Captain Wood's polar map, 133; maps of the Bible, 113, 113 *n.*; the oldest sea-chart, 95, 417; chart of beacons, 392
Chatham, 21, 27, 51, 126 *n.*, 160 *nn.*, 181, 218, 231 *n.*, 251, 252, 342, 395 *n.*; the Dutch at, 152, 217, 345; securing of ships at, 205 *n.*, 439; severity on seamen at, 268; storehouses allotted to the French at, 361
Chatham Chest, 65, 74, 74 *n.*, 171, 232, 232 *n.*, 233, 380, 381, 414; arrears of, 187; Pepys's scheme for a general chest, 6

CHRIST'S

Chatham, Hill House at, 101, 101 *n.*
Chatham River, 47, 217, 345
Chaucer's shipman, 227, 374, 374 *n.*, 420
Cheapside, 322 *n.*
Chelsea Royal Hospital, 171, 171 *n.*
Cherbourg, 344
Chicheley, Sir John, a Commissioner of the Navy and afterwards of the Admiralty, 20, 20 *n.*, 258, 258 *n.*
Chicheley, Sir Thomas, Master of the Ordnance, 225, 225 *n.*, 372
Chichester, 174, 174 *n.*: Mayor of, 174 *n.*
Child, Sir Josiah, 319, 319 *n.*
Chilmead, Edmund, 424 *n.*
Cholmley, Captain, 106
Cholmley, Sir Hugh, engineer of the mole at Tangier, 104, 104 *n.*
Christ's Hospital, 47, 47 *n.*, 192, 413, 413 *n.*, 423 *n.*; services of Pepys and Deane to, 374; ship-model given to, 186, 374; Lady Ramsey's charity at, 124; boys to keep journals, 369–70
Christ's Hospital, Governors of, their ignorance and supineness, 102, 182; Court of, 401; School Committee, 182, 401; Treasurer of, 417
Christ's Hospital, Charles II's Mathematical Foundation in, 50, 50 *n.*, 102, 250, 250 *n.*, 288 *n.*, 315, 315 *n.*, 360, 391, 401, 401 *n.*, 413 *n.*, 416, 416 *n.*, 417; borrowed from the French, 360; charter of, 416, 416 *n.*; mathematical master in, 148 *n.*, 182, 182 *n.*; no experienced seaman for, 136, 136 *n.*,; little choice of fit persons for, 148, 149; a well-paid post, 149

CHRISTCHURCH

Christchurch, Faringdon (Grey Friars), reopening of (1547), 423, 423 *n.*; used as a store-house, 124
Christmas, 164
Church, the, 123; innovation in, 173; makes no provision for the navy, 301
Church, nave of the, 161; churchmen fain to go to sea, 186
Churchill, Captain George, Admiralty Commissioner, 294, 294 *n.*
Ciaconius, Alphonsus, 261 *n.*
Cicero, 325, 325 *n.*, 385
Cinque Ports, the, 12, 52, 109, 136, 154, 155, 185, 197, 248 *n.*, 256, 299, 303, 327, 335, 337, 388, 418, 430, 437: history of, 85; their privileges, 141, 161, 161 *n.*; exemption from the press, 430, 436; charter of, 158; duty of, 157, 158 *n.*; representation in Parliament, 164; ships of, 67; too poor to set out ships, 155; victory off Sandwich (1217), 178, 178 *n.*
Cinque Ports, Barons of, 99, 248, 262, 299; at the Coronation, 157, 190
Cinque Ports, Lord Warden of, 41, 175, 190, 197, 429, 433, 433 *n.*, 437, 446 *n.*; his jurisdiction, 249; his flag, *ib.*; his privileges, 85
City Companies, lists of, 321, 321 *n.*
Civil Law, 195, 252, 294, 334, 408 *n.*
Clarendon, first Earl of, Lord Chancellor, 89
Clarendon, Henry Hyde, second Earl of, 212, 212 *n.*, 386, 386 *n.*; commends the services of Lord Sandwich, 387

COKE

Clayton, Sir John, 5, 5 *n.*, 30; his lighthouses, 199, 199 *n.*
Clergy, their ignorance of the sea, 321
Clergy-reading in schools, 261
Clerk of the Acts, no man fit to be, 232, 381
Clerk of the check, 226, 373
Clerks of the passage, 430
Clifford of Chudleigh, Thomas Clifford, first Baron, Lord Treasurer, 71, 71 *n.*
Clinton, Edward, Lord, Lord High Admiral, 54, 54 *n.*
Close Rolls, 398, 402
Clothworkers' Hall, 122
Clutterbuck, Sir Thomas, victualler, 224
Cluverius, Philip, 287, 287 *n.*
Cnear, 178
Coaches, 65
Coal-trade, 448
Coasts, 67: guard of the, 45, 59, 60, 83, 94, 160, 282, 283, 297, 434; fortifications on the, 182, 182 *n.*, 299, 303; Roman forts on the, 301, 302; depredations on the, 175; people living near the, to repair home, 176; miscarriages upon the, 346; posts set up round the, 44, 305, 419; coasts known to strangers, 343–5, 358; sounding of the, 188; securing of a house upon the, 140; former surveys of the, 135; laid down by Speed, 136; new survey of the, 125, 125 *n.*, 133, 221, 299, 301, 367, 405
Cobham, Henry Brooke, eleventh Baron, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 433 *n.*
Cock, the, in Bow Lane, 322 *n.*
Cockle-shells. *See* Scallop-shells
Coinage, debasing of the, 55
Coke, Sir Edward, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench,

119, 163, 182, 237, 323, 324 *n.*; on the Court of Admiralty, 70, 82; on the Cinque Ports, 85; his aversion to the sea and trade, 167
Colbert, Jean Baptiste, Louis XIV's Minister of Finance and of Marine, 33, 39
Colliers of Newcastle: reprehended by the Admiralty, 311, 335
Colliery, 91
Collins, Captain Greenvile, 128, 136; his survey of the English coasts (1681), 125, 125 *n.*, 133, 135, 145, 149, 188, 299, 301, 319, 324, 324 *n.*, 325, 405, 421; his ill performance, 388; discouraged by want of payment, 188; allowed the use of a vessel, *ib.*; made a Younger Brother of the Trinity House, 188, 324; and their hydrographer, 189
Collins, Mr. the 'accomptant,' 134, 134 *n.*, 151
Colston, Mr., examiner at Christ's Hospital, 311, 315, 401, 401 *n.*, 402
Commanders. *See* Sea-commanders
Common Law, 117, 155, 296, 334, 388 *n.*, 399, 408 *n.*
Commons, House of, 43, 43 *n.*, 194, 198 *n.*, 216 *n.*, 217, 217 *n.*, 253, 254, 262, 296, 338, 339 *n.*, 377 *n.*: unreasonableness of, 3; refuses the creation of new boroughs, 165, 165 *n.*; vote in criticism of the Admiralty Commission (1692–3), 218–19, 218 *n.*, 292, 292 *n.*, 293, 298; vote on the miscarriage of the Turkey fleet (1693), 332, 332 *n.*; ignorance of the gentry sitting in the, 357. *See also* Parliament.
Compass, 131; should be taught in schools, 261
Compass-timber, 193
Complete Gamester, 164
Compton, Lady, 8 *n.*; her list of ships, 8, 103
Conseil des Constructions, 277, 363
Constables, duties of, 164, 164 *n.*; their oath, 396; Constable and Marshal, 287
Consulado del Mar, 92, 92 *n.*
Consuls, 422
Contratacion House at Seville, 415, 415 *n.*
Convocation, 397
Convoy, 111; want of, 311, 335; convoy-money, 431
Conway, Edward, Baron and afterwards Viscount, a Secretary of State and Captain of the Isle of Wight, 434, 434 *n.*
Cooke, —, a boatswain; case of, 214
Cooke (Coke), Mr., 63, 86, 88
Copenhagen, 387, 389 *n.*
Copland, Robert, 39 *n.*, 228 *n.*
Cordage, 75; foreign supplies of, 276; stoveing of, learned from the Dutch, 359; abuses of making, 446
Cordall, Mr., 39
Cornwall, fortifications in, 182
Cornwallis of Eye, Charles, Baron, Admiralty Commissioner, 295, 295 *n.*
Coronation, the, 157, 178, 262, 335; of Henry V, 288; of Charles II, 248; disputes at, 157, 190; triumphal arches at, 58, 58 *n.*
Corsica, 287
Cortés, Hernando, his letters to Charles V, 231, 231 *n.*, 379

CORTON

Corton light, 142, 199 *n.*
Cotterel, Clem., 386, 387
Cotton, Sir Robert, 75 *n.*, 190, 190 *n.*, 288, 288 *n.*, 410, 419
Cowes, 433
Cowley, Abraham, the poet, 376 *n.*
Council, the, 53, 95, 176, 209, 268, 307, 322 *n.*, 347, 348, 349, 350, 399, 422, 439, 440: Council-books, 337; Establishment made in Council about the measuring of ships (1665), 211, 211 *n.*; disputes at the (1693), 337; the Great Council, 99; council of war, 196
Counterfeit colours, 430, 438
Country, Captain Richard, 214 *n.*
Court, the, 53, 62, 99, 132 *n.*, 147, 199, 253, 260, 264, 267, 328, 333, 384, 400, 406, 445; now in a condition to obtain what supplies they ask, 334
Court Merchant, 319
Courten, Sir William, the merchant; case of, 56, 56 *n.*
Courts-martial, 131, 196, 389; unnatural that they should be wholly made up of commanders, 147; whom they always favour, 323; their presumption, 146; and despotic power, 400; court-martial on the loss of the Gloucester, 146, 147, 150; on the burning of the Henry, 160
Coventry, Sir Thomas, Solicitor-General, 437, 437 *n.*
Coventry, Sir William, 29, 34, 43, 109 *n.*, 162, 400; Pepys in praise of, 338
Cox, Mr., 320
Cramer, Mr., 301
Crates of Mallus, 419 *n.*
Crests, 169. *See also* Arms

DANBY

Crew of Stene, John, first Baron, 89, 89 *n.*
Criminals sent to sea, 214
Cromer light, 199 *n.*; never lighted, 142
Crompton, Sir Thomas, Judge of the Admiralty, 409 *n.*
Cromwell, Oliver, 32 *n.*, 52, 104, 246, 247, 252, 350, 387, 443; chose good ministers abroad, 152; his Parliaments, 165, 165 *n.*; purchased the first standing office for the Navy, 274
Cromwell, Richard, 400 *n.*
Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, 427
Crose, J. de la, 309, 309 *n.*
Crowe, Sir Sackville, Treasurer of the Chatham Chest, 74, 74 *n.*
Crown of the double rose, 411
Crutched Friars, 274 *n.*, 389
Cumberland, omitted in Domesday Book, 96
Cumberland, George Clifford, third Earl of, 11, 11 *n.*
Cuningham (or Keningham), William, physician, astrologer and engraver, 398, 398 *n.*, 422
Custis, Mr. Edmund, 26, 26 *n.*, 27
Customs, 235, 383, 411, 412, 430, 437; increase in, 117; illegally levied, 179 *n.*; allotted to the navy, 233, 381; customs, tonnage, and poundage, 87; custom-house, 155, 165, 307
Cutts of Gowran, John, Baron, Governor of the Isle of Wight, 323, 323 *n.*

DAILLON, Monsieur, a French minister, 286, 286 *n.*
Danby, Earl of. *See* Osborne

Danegeld, 267
Danes, 12, 91, 91 *n.*, 99, 100, 345 : piracies of, 100 ; oppositions of, 178. *See also* Denmark
Danish Ambassador, 432, 442
Dannet, Mr., M.P. for Yarmouth, 262
Darcy, Captain, 39
Dartmouth, burned by the French, 72
Dartmouth, Lord. *See* Legge
Davenant, Charles, the political economist, 405, 405 *n.*
D'Aveti, Pierre, 105, 105 *n.*
Davies, Captain William, 332, 332 *n.*
Davys, John, the navigator, 423, 423 *n.*
Day, Thomas, shipwright, 46 ; master-builder in Denmark, 223, 246, 369
Deal, 86, 86 *n.*, 135
Dean, Forest of, preservation of timber in, 170 *n.*, 182 ; visit of the Officers of the Navy to (1671), 75, 75 *n.*, 276, 276 *n.*
Deane, Sir Anthony, the shipbuilder, 9, 21, 43 *n.*, 46, 48, 50, 75, 75 *n.*, 110, 121, 140, 193, 203, 204, 207, 210, 220, 222, 223, 224, 235, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 274, 284, 288, 289, 354, 355, 366, 368, 369, 370, 383 : his report on the fleet (1674), 30, 30 *n.* ; his journey to France (1675), 44, 44 *n.*, 195, 195 *n.* ; impossibility of his carrying over models of ships, 239, 239 *n.* ; charges against him (1679), 181 *n.*, 198 *n.* ; Deane in Parliament, 229, 377 ; his services on the Special Commission of 1686, 273, 273 *n.*, 278 ; before William III's

Commission of Public Accounts, 264, 264 *n.*, 266, 269, 271, 291, 333, 335 ; at the launch of the Neptune, 192, 201 ; his opinion on the shape of a ship, 9, 204 ; on the Dutch frigates, 10 ; on the considerations required for building a good ship, 15 ; on the improvement of the English Navy from foreigners, 241–5 ; his ship-model for Christ's Hospital, 186, 374 ; praise of, 227, 374 ; Petty's high opinion of, 211
Deane, Lady, 121
Deane (the younger), 244
Deane, Admiral Richard, 146 *n.* ; picture of, 146 ; a landsman made general-at-sea, 147
Debauchery, 133 ; in the fleet, 88, 339
Dee, Dr. John, mathematician and astrologer, 292, 292 *n.*, 329, 401, 401 *n.*, 420
Defender of the Faith, title of, 446
Dégalénière, Monsieur P. P., French minister, 306, 306 *n.*
Delavall, Admiral Sir Ralph, 140 ; in joint command of the fleet (1693), 290, 337 *n.*
Delft, 94 *n.*
Demosthenes, Plutarch's Life of, 192
Denise, Monsieur, 51, 246, 361
Denmark, 209, 222, 368, 389, 389 *n.*, 407 ; Englishmen in, 26, 46, 223, 246, 369 ; strength of, at sea, 202 *n.*, 203 ; Admiral of, 389 ; King of, 445. *See also* Danes
Deptford, 46, 46 *n.*, 56 *n.*, 61, 200, 200 *n.*, 244 *n.*, 351 *n.* ; deficiency of stores at, 192 ; timber at, *ib.* ; launch of the Neptune at, 192, 201

DERING

Dering, Lieutenant Daniel, 92, 92 *n.*
Desgorez, Monsieur, visits England (1671), 361
Deval, Philippe, 344
Devil, story of a tame, 141
Devonshire, Lord, famous case of, 139
Dice, 164
Dieppe (Diep), 55, 155; shifting sands before, 152; fees for the passage at, 432, 433; Governor of, 433
Digby, —, visits the French dockyards, 361
Digges, Thomas, 225 *n.*
Diodorus Siculus, 308
Discipline, 300, 389; want of, in the Navy, 196; non-observance of instructions forgiven (1692), 265; Naval Discipline Act (1693), 388, 388 *n.*; discipline in the French navy, 34, 38, 356, 362, 363
Diving for a wreck, privateer interferes with, 311
Docks, 213
Dockyards, strangers in, 226, 233; laziness of the officers of, 260; French, 361
Dogger Bank, 447
Domesday Book, 177, 183, 299; castles in, 96, 99; steerman in, 98; omissions in, 96; no true general survey, 97
Dominion of the sea. *See* Sea, Dominion of
Donne, Dr. John, Dean of St. Paul's, 172, 173 *n.*
Doria, Andrea, Genoese admiral, 98, 134, 306; Pepys's mistake about him, 98 *n.*
Dort, 180
Douglas, Lord George, his regiment plunders in the dockyards, 20, 20 *n.*
Dover, 141, 141 *n.*, 143, 197; Road, 441; pier, neglect of, 12, 12 *n.*; harbour, repair of, 85, 85 *n.*; castle at, 99; mill at, 183; one of the Cinque Ports, 248 *n.*; fees for passage at, 432, 433; head-money at, 432, 442

DUMMER

Dover, Burgesses of, their duties owed to the Crown, 184
Dover, Governor of, 249
Downs, the, 249, 427, 434; groundage in, 93, 221, 367
Drake, Sir Francis, 4, 6, 6 *n.*, 10, 41, 46, 46 *n.*, 85, 349, 349 *n.*; his Journal, 95, 95 *n.*; appointed vice-admiral in 1588, 119; his offer towards a lecture in navigation, 229, 378, 415, 415 *n.*; his fireships, 360; imperfect knowledge of, 415
Drapery, 447
Draudius, George, 76, 76 *n.*
Draughts. *See* Charts
Drawing, usefulness of, 391, 391 *n.*
Drinking in the fleet, 339
Droit de Brieuf, 228, 228 *n.*, 376
Dryden, John, 295 *n.*
Dublin, 288 *n.*
Dudley, Henry, 67, 67 *n.*
Dudley, Lord Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, 398, 398 *n.*, 422
Dudley, Sir Robert ('Duke Dudley'), 224, 224 *n.*, 239, 240, 351, 354, 419
Dugdale, Sir William, Garter King-of-Arms, 108, 125, 157, 157 *n.*, 172, 185, 197, 222, 236 *n.*, 323, 323 *nn.*, 368, 368 *n.*
Dummer, Mr. Edmund, Surveyor of the Navy, 395 *n.*; his draughts of ships, 151, 151 *n.*, 395

DUNBLANE

Dunblane, Viscount Osborne of. *See* Osborne
Duncombe, Sir John, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 29
Dunkirk, Dunkirkers, 17, 154, 223, 224, 240, 308, 308 *n.*, 369, 371, 430, 430 *n.*, 435, 440; Dunkirk frigates, 241, 351; privateers, 342; their swift sailing, 175
Dunwich, 60 *n.*, 340; swallowed up by the sea, 143
Dutch, the, 9, 10, 21, 24, 27, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, 50, 61, 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 94, 103, 105, 111, 119, 140, 145, 145 *n.*, 203, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 245, 247, 254, 301, 312, 327, 329, 342, 345, 350, 352, 353, 363, 368, 388, 418, 430 *n.*, 432, 436 *n.*, 439 *n.*, 444; Dutch Governor of Batavia, 177; English shipwright in Dutch service, 46; Dutch in the English service, 356; sea-fights of the, 56; Dutch insolency at Scarborough (1635), 430, 435; Dutch at Belle Isle, 126; Dutch books of navigation, 124; their maps, 113; Seller's maps but copies of theirs, 135, 345; things learned from them, 359; words relating to the sea borrowed from them, *ib.*; Dutch schools of shipbuilding, 183; their shipwrightry, 127, 183, 183 *n.*; shoalness of their ports, 352; they build floatier than the English, 351, 352; they despise our ships, 353; building of yachts learned from them, 116, 241; they build ships for France, 234, 242, 383; they make shipping a trade rather than a secret, 242; Dutch commanders keep the sea upon trade during peace, 166; the Dutch erect monuments to their sea-commanders, 275; print of Dutch busses, 306, 306 *n.*; why the Dutch are beaten by the English at sea, 447–9. *See also* Holland, States-General
Dutch Ambassador, 108, 347, 348, 438, 440, 440 *n.*
Dutch flag, trade in Turkey under the, 443
Dutch fleet, 143, 227, 227 *n.*, 317, 374; foreigners employed in, 251
Dutch War (1652–54), 2 *n.*
Dutch War (1665–67), 2, 2 *n.*, 4, 154, 205, 211; gentlemen in, 26; landmen in, *ib.*; Dutch adventurousness, 110; Evelyn's History of the War, 95, 95 *n.*, 108, 108 *n.* *See also* Chatham, Medway, Thames
Dutch War (1672–74), 111, 111 *n.*, 118, 140, 154; narratives of, 8; union of English and French fleets in, 40; Dutch fleet at Southwold Bay, 145
Duteil, John Baptiste, 35, 35 *n.*

EAST

East Country, 210; plank, 207, 207 *n.*, 208, 384
East India Company, 8, 97 *n.*, 105, 279 *n.*, 333 *n.*, 444 *n.*; victuals well, 135; slups built by, 235, 383; ill-conduct of their ships, 79; French Company, 93, 93 *n.*
East India Fleet, 289 *n.*, 448
East Indies, 70, 97 *n.*, 447; trade with the, 91; Dutch claims in the, 444
Easter, 330; tables for, are imperfect, 397

EASTERLINGS

Easterlings, English trade once in the hands of, 343
Eddystone light, 269 *n.*
Edgar (King), 66, 69, 290, 330; his Great Seal, 40; his claims to sea dominion, 58, 58 *n.*, 302, 302 *n.*; his Admiral, 66, 106
Edinburgh, 314 *n.*; Mons Meg at, 138, 138 *n.*
Edward I, 158, 236 *n.*, 282, 297, 327; protections against invasion granted by, 296
Edward III, 48, 63, 63 *n.*, 65, 66, 126, 126 *n.*, 141, 173, 174, 174 *nn.*; dominion of the sea under, 3; sea-marks under, 44, 410; roll of the fleet of, 385, 385 *n.*; navy most flourishing under, 410
Edward IV, 336, 392
Edward V, 238
Edward VI, 54, 55, 61, 65, 195, 195 *n.*, 229 *n.*, 238, 314; his journal, 52, 52 *n.*, 53, 54, 67–8; visits Portsmouth, 68; his hospitals, 124, 153
Egypt, 93
Elizabeth (Queen), 23, 40, 59, 60, 63, 85, 87, 107, 119, 132, 133, 151, 152, 155, 171, 191, 202 *n.*, 203, 205, 208, 208 *n.*, 212, 226, 227, 230, 233, 234, 304, 342, 347, 348, 349, 350, 373, 375, 379, 381, 382, 391, 408, 409, 410, 411; her statutes for Cambridge (1570), 81; her (tapestry) hangings, 94; naval actions of, 128, 128 *n.*; state of the navy under, 187, 199; better morals of her age, 215; false traditions concerning her, 230, 379; she did not challenge the sea sovereignty, 275; story of her forbidding France the building of ships, 208, 230, 307, 309, 315, 363–4, 379

EVERTSEN

Elsinore, strait passage at, 203 *n.*
Embargo, 44, 427
Encyclopaedia, 76
Enemy ports, trading to, 432, 440
Engineers, 28; Charles II on, 29; strangers, 229, 377; few English, 231, 379
England, strategic position of, 38, 447–8; folly of, 72; natural plenty of, 82; sea and land measures of, 391
English, the, are over-valuers of their ships, 2; no public spirit among, 154, 154 *n.*; their laziness, 195 *n.*; the last and least discoverers, 223, 370; backward in encouraging new inventions, 231, 379; English fleet against Spain (1626), 235; English force at sea, 3
English Ambassador, 433
Equinoctial, the, 114
Equites Cochleares, 90, 90 *n.*
Erasmus, 146
Ernle, Sir John, Admiralty Commissioner, 257, 257 *n.*
Essex, 376, 395; a large water discovered in, 5; fortifications in, 68
Estrées, Duc d', 317, 317 *n.*, 362
Euclid, 401, 401 *n.*
European, 425
Eustace the Monk, 178 *n.*
Evelyn, John, the diarist, 8, 74, 108, 122, 123, 123 *n.*, 149, 224, 234, 290, 316, 316 *n.*, 322, 322 *n.*, 370 *n.*, 376 *n.*, 382, 391, 427 *n.*; his history of the Dutch War (1665–67), 95, 95 *n.*, 108, 108 *n.*; his *Fumifugium*, 110, 110 *n.*
Evelyn, John (the younger), 108
Evertsen, Admiral, 371

EWBANK

Ewbank, Colonel, his invention of fire-hearths, 231 *n.*
Exchequer, 61 ; Auditors of the, 42 ; Chamberlain of the, 411, 412 ; Treasurer of the, 411, 412 ; Court of, 322 *n.* ; stop of the (1672), 71, 71 *n.*
Exton, Dr. John, Admiralty lawyer, 59, 59 *n.*, 61, 66, 67

FAIRBORNE, [Sir] Stafford, 249, 249 *n.*
Fairfax, Mr., candidate for the mathematical mastership at Christ's Hospital, 148
Falkland, Anthony Carey, fifth Viscount, Treasurer of the Navy, 264, 278 *n.*, 337 ; his speech (1693), 292, 292 *n.*, 293 ; his little knowledge, 293
Falmouth, 52 *n.*
Farne. *See* Ferne
Faro, Portuguese port of, 340, 340 *n.*
Farthings, motto on, 213, 213 *n.*, 294
Fasby, Captain William, 152, 239, 239 *n.*
Fast, Book of Prayers for the, 173
Fees for passage, 432, 433
Fenton, Lady, 156 *n.*
Fenwick's Plot, 427 *n.*
Ferdinand II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 354 *n.*
Ferne (Farne) Island, 199 *n.* ; light built on, but never lighted, 142
Ferriage in Ireland, 431, 439
Festus, Pompeius, grammarian, 290, 290 *n.*
Fiddlers, paid more than seamen, 65
Field, Theophilus, Bishop of Llandaff, and afterwards of Hereford, 235, 235 *n.*

FISHING

Figs, 340
Finch, Daniel, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, 80, 80 *n.*, 217, 217 *n.*, 313, 313 *n.* ; supported by the Lords (1692), 217 *n.*, 289, 290
Finch, Heneage, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, 409, 409 *n.*
Finch, Sir John, Ambassador to Constantinople, 78, 78 *n.*
Finisterre (North Cape), 319, 319 *n.*
Fire of London, 123, 206
Fire-hearths, new invention of, 231, 231 *n.*, 379
Fireships, 48, 120 ; derived from the French, 360 ; proposition to forbear the use of, *ib.* ; fireships at Antwerp, 230, 230 *n.*, 379
Fish, 101, 294, 385 ; cheapness of, in Spain, 197 ; law concerning royal fish, 82
Fishbones, Selden's argument from, 294 ; used for decorating swords, 310, 311, 385, 385 *n.*
Fisher, Mr., 370
Fishermen, 164 ; French, 344
Fishery, the, 155 ; unsuccessful, 232, 381 ; foreign, 91 ; herring, 82 ; Newfoundland, 49, 197 ; Royal, 92
Fishing, 227, 306, 311, 329, 373, 441, 444–6 ; English sovereignty as to, 439 ; regulation of fishing, 186, 186 *n.* ; evils of neglect of, 186 ; law for the liberty of, 300 ; proclamations concerning fishing, 445, 445 *n.* ; Secretary Windebank's letter about (1635), 438 ; fishing not allowed to strangers 'within kenning of the land,' 444, 444 *n.* ; acknowledgment-money for, 445, 445 *n.* ;

decay of, 197; the sport of, 169; fishing at Londonderry, 122; in the Northern Seas, 441; whale-fishing, 443
Fishmongers' Company, arms of the, 101
Fitz-Alan of Richmond Castle, 97
Flag, the, 2, 53, 57, 62, 108, 307, 408, 431, 438, 442; King John's decree concerning the, 67; striking to the, 53, 53 *n.*, 55, 56, 66, 77; affront to the, 409 *n.*; history of the, 57 *n.*; first use of the cross on the, 91; proclamation for distinguishing the King's ships from the merchants', 77; the flag in case of ambassadors, 77, 78 *n.*; allowed to commanders of squadrons, 78; worn by the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 249; flag made for the Prince of Orange, 108, 108 *n.* *See also* Salutes
Flag-book, 307
Flag-brooms, 340
Flag-officers, imputations upon, 119
Flamborough Head, light upon, 199 *n.*; never lighted, 142
Flamsteed, John, first Astronomer Royal, 126, 150, 183, 305, 305 *n.*
Flanders, 327, 327 *n.*; despatch of English troops to (1678), 23, 23 *n.*; buying of fish from, prohibited, 186 *n.*; Banks of, 343; coast of, 220, 366
Flatman, Thomas, the poet, 144, 144 *n.*
Flats, the, 345
Fleet, fleets, 2; chief officers of the, 57: division of the

(1666), 143, 143 *n.*; the fleet loses itself, 346
Fleet Prison, 235 *n.*, 236 *n.*
Fleet-water, the, 209
Flemings, 53, 53 *n.*, 55, 67, 67 *n.*, 68; Flemish ships, 68, 346
Fleta, 236, 236 *n.*, 237
Flogging, 36
Florence, Duke of, 242, 351. *See also* Tuscany
Florence of Worcester, 178
Flushing, 435
Fly, the, 22, 22 *n.* *See also* Vlie
Foley, Mr. Paul, a Commissioner of Public Accounts, 333, 333 *n.*, 384, 384 *n.*, 389, 400
Folkestone, wrecks at, 429, 433
Folsom, George, 231 *n.*
Fords, due to want of boats, 308
Foreign trade, plantations, discoveries, etc., papers on, 442–4
Forelands, lights upon the, ill-kept, 5; battle off the North Foreland (1666), 143 *n.*, 346 *n.*; South Foreland, 344
Forest, Justices of the, 237; laws of the, *ib.*
Fortifications, 138, 205; in Cornwall, 182, 182 *n.*; in Essex, 68; on the coasts, 299, 303; sea-forts, 39; Roman, 301, 302; French book of fortified towns, 317
Foster, Captain, his discourse with a Dutch skipper, 447–9
Foster, William, 413 *n.*
'Four Seas,' the, 215, 215 *n.*, 295; legitimacy of children in, 121
Fournier, Georges, the Jesuit, 50, 50 *n.*, 69, 132, 228, 240, 363, 375, 376, 398, 422

FOWLER

Fowler, Captain Thomas, 209, 209 *n.*
Fox on board ship, 390
Frampton, John, 424 *n.*
France, 22, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 48, 49, 51, 54 *n.*, 55, 82, 86, 122, 146, 152, 154, 158, 162, 167, 171, 184, 195, 224, 226, 269, 270, 296, 315, 318, 321, 326, 338, 343, 370, 373, 374, 448; great ships built in, 235, 357, 383; ships built by the Dutch for, 50, 242, 383; Dutch shipwright in, 246; privateers built in, 351; points in which the methods of, exceed ours, 361–3; navy of, 30; excellency of the naval instructions of, 247, 356; naval strength of, in 1688, 399; in 1693, 318; regulations for seamen in, 111; care for timber in, 396; receipts and issues of, for 1673, 212; sea-laws of, 85; *capitaineries* in, 283; fears of the growth of, 22; effects of a war with, 37; fleet against, 44; preparations against (1678), 365, 365 *n.*; left open to invasion (1693), 327; invasion expected from (1696), 427, 427 *n.*; practice of selling offices in, 363; selling of guns to, 96; English possessions in, 191; treaties with, 208, 208 *n.*, 325, 326 *n.*, 335, 385, 431, 439; civil wars in, 32; sea and land measures of, 391; description of the ports of, 200; Petty's false prediction concerning, 316, 316 *n.*; privileges of the Scots in, 432, 443. *See also* French
France, Court of, 432, 442; Marshals of, 38

FRENCH

France, King of, 31, 50, 54, 68, 81, 93, 124, 209, 219, 233, 299, 307, 309, 327, 342, 350, 355, 361, 363, 366, 407, 446 *n.*; his ordinances for shipbuilding, 353; his *Conseils des Constructions*, 277, 363; his nursery for navigation, 415; his sea-charts, 421; his geographer, 172. *See also* Louis XIV
France, La Politique de, 1
Franks, 154
Fraser, Mr. James, 302, 302 *n.*
Frasier, Dr., 93
French, Frenchmen, 9, 47, 48, 55, 56, 61, 67 *n.*, 68, 69, 73, 88, 94, 104, 109, 120, 132, 140, 149, 178, 234, 238, 239, 240, 241, 245, 254, 306, 314, 331, 344, 346, 351, 383, 390, 398, 408, 415, 417, 422, 424, 426, 431, 433, 435, 437, 439; the French build sharper than the English, 351, 352; good qualities of their ships, 352; they get the wind of our fleet, 235, 383; things learned from them, 360; a Frenchman of St. Malo invented frigates, 223, 224, 369, 370; galley-frigates learned from them, 354; also galleries, *ib.*; and cartridges, *ib.*; French galleys, 184 *n.*, 306; French scout, 145; good sailing of their frigates, 352; their going into St. Malo in 1692, 218; no want of skill and courage among them, 352; their good husbandry, 33; their industry and cheapness, 197; they the first discoverers of the Indies, 222, 369; now the best engineers, 29; French Navy, 32, 32 *n.*, 227, 227 *n.*, 271, 299, 306; its mean

FRENCH

estate, 1658–59, 214; charge of the, 233, 381; Pepys's report on the French fleet (1675), 374, 377, 377 *n.*; its good discipline, 34, 356, 362, 363; the French navy abroad (1693), 317; French commanders keep with their ships during peace, 166; enrolling of French seamen, 362; their good payment, 361; our conjunction with the French fleet (1672), 22, 229, 361, 361 *n.*, 376; mischief done by the French at sea, 66; burning of seatowns, 178; of Gravesend, 346; French invasion, 52 *n.*, 209, 405; defence against them, 186; invasion under Edward III, 173; invasion under Richard II, 72; invasion of Ireland, 81, 81 *n.*, 299; Frenchmen in the English service, 35, 81, 356; French charts and maps, 95, 120, 122; their excellence, 316; French books of navigation, 124; French *Ordonnances*, 355; wisdom of their Admiralty laws, 407; English jurisdiction upon the French coast, 249; French money stamped with a ship, 295; French list of Admirals, 108; French prize goods, 125; trade in Turkey under the French flag, 443; French fishing upon the Zowe, 446, 446 *n.*; they pay for lights, 60; French ship of three decks broken up, 235, 383; French ships foundered at sea, 363; French squadron at Spithead, 243; words relating to the sea borrowed from the French, 56, 359. *See also* France

GALLEYS

French Ambassador, 55, 171, 429, 433, 435, 436, 441

French Secretary Marine, 167, 232, 362, 380

Frigates, 167, 291; invention of, 17, 223, 224, 241, 369, 370; borrowed from Dunkirkers, 240, 351; the first English frigate, 18, 18 *n.*, 241; her characteristics, 15; good sailing of the French frigates, 352; Dutch, 10

Froissart, 336

Fuller, Dr. Thomas, 59, 59 *n.*, 63, 64, 82, 89, 91, 91 *n.*, 117, 266, 266 *n.*, 275, 419, 421; his lists of seamen, 281

Fumifugium, John Evelyn's, 110, 110 *n.*

G——, Pepys's old servant, 339

Gabarit, 353, 353 *n.*

Gabbard, battle of the, 146 *n.*

Gale, Dr. Thomas, High Master of St. Paul's School, and afterwards Dean of York, 12, 12 *n.*, 68, 75, 75 *n.*, 76, 98, 98 *n.*, 103, 109, 177, 177 *n.*, 178, 183, 190, 192, 197, 208, 252, 284, 301 *n.*, 302, 303, 308, 402 *n.*; on Domesday Book, 96–7; his note on the Greek fleet, etc., 236–7

Galleries, 351; learned from the French, 354

Galley-frigates, 35, 363; learned from the French, 240, 354; sketch of, *ib.*

Galleys, 167, 243, 354, 402; Carthaginian, 292; French, 184 *n.* 306; Henry VIII's, 101, 101 *n.*; Venetian, 433; presented to Charles II, 242, 242 *n.*, 354; draughts of,

351 ; French Admiral of the Galleys, 167, 167 *n.*
Galliasses, 101 *n.*, 219, 220, 220 *n.*, 366
Gallicism, 406
Galliot, 247 *n.*
Galloper, the, 143, 143 *n.*, 346, 346 *n.*
Game, laws for preserving, 300
Garcie, Pierre, 228 *n.*
Gard, Baron de la, 56 *n.*
Garter, Knights of the, 63, 63 *n.*
Garwaye, Mr., 51
Gascony, vines in, 110
Gascoyne, Mr., the plat-maker, 19, 42, 237
Gatehouse, the, 426 *n.*, 440 *n.*
Gauls, 285
Gaunt, John of, 160 *n.* *See also* Lancaster, Duke of
Gazette, the, 11, 50, 190, 215, 343, 383 ; invention of gazettes (1665), 336, 336 *n.*
Genebelli, Frederick, an Italian engineer, 230, 230 *n.*, 379
Generals-at-sea, under the Romans, 285 ; landmen become, 147
Genoa, 113, 431, 439; galley built at, 242 *n.*, 354
Gentleman's Journal, 308, 308 *n.*
Gentlemen-commanders, 181, 194, 448, 449
Geography, little attention paid to, 237
George of Denmark, Prince, Lord High Admiral, 294 *n.*
Geraudeau, Peter, case of, 409 *n.*
Gerbier, Mr., English agent at Brussels, 441
Germans, long esteemed the best engineers, 29 ; Germans in English service, 356
Ghent, Willem Josef van, Dutch admiral, 21
Gibraltar, project for making it an island (1656), 104, 104 *n.*

Gibson, Dr. Edmund, Bishop of London, 59 *n.*
Gibson, Mr. Richard, a clerk in the Navy Office, 23, 23 *n.*, 24, 24 *n.*, 25, 27, 44, 51, 134, 153, 154, 176, 228, 268, 297, 310, 323, 343, 345, 375, 447 ; his notes, 342, 350–52
Gifford, Mr., the parson, 122
Gilbert, Dr. William, 420, 420 *n.*
Gilkicker Fort, 213, 213 *n.*
Gillingham, 21, 55
Giraldi, Lilio Gregorio, 290, 290 *n.*
Giraldus Cambrensis, 105, 105 *n.*
Girdling, 244, 244 *n.*
Glanvill, Mr., a lawyer, sent secretary to the fleet to be out of the way, 175
Glascock, Sir William, a master in Chancery, 322, 322 *n.*
Globes, 304, 423, 425 ; when first invented, 419, 419 *n.*
Gloucestershire, 184
Godolphin, Sir William, Ambassador at Madrid, 114, 114 *n.*, 202, 202 *n.*
Gold, Mr. John, a London merchant, 331, 331 *n.*
Gold, Sir Thomas, Sheriff of London, 11, 11 *n.*, 235, 383, 383 *n.*
Golden, Captain, 133
Goldesbrough, Mr. William, Clerk to the House of Commons, 42
Gomme, Sir Bernard de, engineer, 29
Goodwin Sands, 145 *n.*, 437 *n.*
Gorong, 190
Gosport, 213, 213 *n.*
Gothic architecture, prevails in England, 102
Grafton, Duke of, Vice-Admiral of England, 210, 210 *n.*, 388, 404 ; Master of the Trinity House, 189

GRANVILLE

Granville, Captain John, afterwards Baron Granville of Potheridge, 294, 294 *n.*
Grass Street, 159 *n.*
Gravesend, burned by the French, 72, 238; blockhouses at, 230, 230 *n.*, 232, 379, 380
Graydon, Captain John, 323 *n.*; acquitted by a court-martial, 323
Great Britain, 343
Greek, 236; Greek fleet, *ib.*
Greenland, Greenlanders, 310, 444; boats of, 85; excellence of their vessels, 207; canoes, 274
Greenwich, 128, 186, 288 *n.*, 419; Observatory, 388, 388 *n.*; Mathematical School, 288 *n.*
Grege, John, a pilot, 4 *n.*
Gregory, Mr Edward, clerk of the check at Chatham, 20, 20 *n.*, 21
Grenades, 128
Gresham, Sir Thomas, 41, 41 *n.*, 124, 229, 377, 414
Gresham College, 23, 42, 177, 177 *n.*, 210, 210 *n.*, 249, 275, 423; lectures at, 124; Professors at, 124 *n.*, 134, 421. *See also* Royal Society
Grey, Mr. Anchitell, takes shorthand notes, 122
Grey of Warke, Ford, third Baron, 376, 376 *n.*, 377
Grimstone, Edward, 108, 108 *n.*
Grimstone, Sir Harbottle, Master of the Rolls, 283, 283 *n.*: his argument against building more ships, 296
Grocery, 447
Groundage, fees for, 93, 221, 367, 437, 437 *n.*
Gruterus, Janus, Professor at Heidelberg, 157, 157 *n.*
Guards, the King's, 142
Guardships, 160, 160 *n.*

HAKLUYT

Guernsey, 135 *n.*; survey of (1680), 135, 144; close relations with France, 140; pilots of, 218
Guglios, 93. *See also* Obelisks
Guiana, 6
Guicciardini, Francis, 108, 108 *n.*
Guildford, Sir Henry, 120 *n.*
Guildford, Sir Richard, 141, 141 *n.*
Gumble, Thomas, 9 *n.*
Gunfleet, the, 144 *n.*, 314 *n.*
Gunman, Captain Christopher, 135, 135 *n.*, 144, 145, 150, 150 *n.*, 314 *n.*, 344, 345, 352, 356; dismissed the service by a court-martial, 146, 147
Gunner, printed account of the Spanish Armada by a, 118
Gunners, reputation of the English as, 191, 203–4, 315, 421; masters made gunners, 214
Guns, 35, 132, 132 *n.*, 234, 382; establishment of (1677), 57, 57 *n.*, 182, 182 *n.*; guns sold to France, 96; guns under Henry VIII, 203; leather guns, 231, 380; invention of great guns, 425; method of traversing, 232, 380, 380 *n.*; partners in the profits of the newly invented guns, 225, 225 *n.*, 372. *See also* Rupert

HADDOCK, Sir Richard, Comptroller of the Navy, 26, 52, 52 *n.*, 70, 70 *n.*, 104, 110, 115, 150, 182, 209, 235, 258, 258 *n.*, 264, 383
Hagemeirus, Joachim, 118, 118 *n.*
Hague, the, 435
Hakewill, Dr. George, 86, 86 *n*
Hakluyt, Richard, 64, 64 *n.*, 219, 229 *n.*, 266, 266 *n.*, 279, 365, 365 *n.*, 385, 415 *n.*, 416,

416 *n.*; voyages, 239; his letter to Sir Philip Sidney, 230, 230 *n.*, 378, 415, 417
Hale, Sir Matthew, 107, 107 *n.*, 337, 337 *n.*
Hales, Mr. Edward, Admiralty Commissioner, 92, 92 *n.*
Half-pay masters, 250, 251
Halley, Edmund, the astronomer, 292, 311, 420, 420 *n.*
Halstead, Mr. Robert, of the Tower, 153, 153 *n.*, 158
Hamburgers, 154
Hampshire, 283: Vice-Admiralty of, 438
Hampton Court, 53
Hanse Towns, 85; mariners from the, 63 *n.*; papers touching the, 443
Harbord, Sir Charles, 386, 386 *n.*, 387
Harbord, Mr. William, 22, 22 *n.*, 43, 43 *n.*; his ill-management, 120
Harley, Sir Edward, 47, 47 *n.*
Harold (King), 100
Harquebuses, harquebusiers, 109, 110; English ignorance in the use of, 108
Harrington, James: his *Oceana*, 69, 69 *n.*
Harvey, Sir Thomas, a Commissioner of the Navy, 257, 257 *n.*
Harwich, 213, 290 *n.*; great importance of, 144; light at, 5, 202
Harwich, Mayor of, an oar said to be carried before him, 178, 178 *n.*
Hastings, burned by the French, 48 *n.*, 72; Ordinance of (1201), 77, 77 *n.*, 435 *n.*; one of the Cinque Ports, 248 *n.*
Hatton, Charles, 315, 315 *n.*
Hatton, Sir Christopher, Lord Chancellor, 225, 347, 348, 350, 372

Havens, 90
Havre, shifting sands before, 152
Hawking, 169
Hawkyns, Sir John, 10, 232 *n.*, 375 *n.*; appointed rear-admiral (1588), 119; his hospital, 255, 414
Hawse, thwart the, 346, 346 *n.*
Hawton, Mr., the apothecary, 151
Hayes, Mr., 47
Hayter, Thomas, Secretary of the Admiralty, 257 *n.*
Head-money, 432, 442
Headlands, rectifying of, 225
Hearne, Thomas, the antiquary, 288 *n.*
Heath, Act against the burning of, 110, 110 *n.*
Hedges, Sir Charles, Judge of the Admiralty, 280, 280 *n.*
Heemskirke, Sir Laurence van, 361; his foolish proposition, 140, 203, 203 *n.*
Hengest, 190
Henley, Mr. George, merchant of London, case of, 436, 436 *n.*, 438
Henry I, 158
Henry II, 237
Henry III, 73, 99, 161 *n.*, 178, 237, 282, 288, 297, 387; Admirals under, 94
Henry V, Coronation of, 288
Henry VI, 172; smallness of his revenue, 309
Henry VII, 52, 87, 141, 141 *n.*, 142, 229, 238, 321, 378; his chapel at Westminster, 114; his commercial treaty with France (1497), 325, 326 *n.*
Henry VIII, 27, 64, 70, 79, 85, 86, 125, 125 *n.*, 153 *n.*, 155, 182, 185, 186, 194, 194 *n.*, 249, 335, 343, 346, 399, 408, 411 *n.*, 427, 427 *n.*; his establishment of the Royal

HENRY

Navy, 60, 101, 226, 234, 382, 383; Holbein's picture of his ships, 77; his galleys, 101; our naval force at the strongest under, 120, 120 *n.*; great guns not much in use under, 203; his leather guns, 231, 380; his charter to Trinity House, 58, 58 *n.*; hydrographical draughts presented to, 96

Henry, Prince of Wales, 137, 137 *n.*, 396 *n.*

Henry IV of France, 226, 373

Henshaw, Thomas, F.R.S., 109, 126, 126 *n.*

Heralds, the, 42, 62, 71, 91, 215, 274; questions for the, 45

Herbert, Admiral Arthur, afterwards Earl of Torrington, 36, 78, 78 *n.*, 113, 113 *n.*, 180; thanked by the House of Commons (1689), 216, 216 *n.*

Herdson, Mr., 433

Herne, John, mathematician, 126, 126 *n.*

Herodotus, 114

Heron, Mr., 438

Herrings, herring-fishery, 82, 446; the herring called the king of fishes, 294; is not liked by seamen, 312; herring pies for the King, 325–8; 'assize herrings,' 444 *n.*

Hertfordshire, 121

Hewer, Mr. William, 121, 192, 218, 247, 252, 310, 310 *n.*, 384, 426 *n.*; his collection out of the Journal of the Admiralty, 95, 96 *n.*; services on the Special Commission of 1686, 273, 273 *n.*, 278; appears before William III's Commission of Public Accounts, 264, 264 *n.*, 266, 269, 271, 291, 333, 335; his list of Secretaries of the Admiralty, 1660–1688, 291

HOLLAND

Heylyn, Dr. Peter, 157, 157 *n.*, 185, 195

Hiero of Syracuse, ship built by, 103

Higgons, Sir Thomas, diplomatist, 109, 109 *n.*

Hill, Mr. Abraham, Treasurer of the Royal Society, 97, 97 *n.*–98, 134, 249

Hill, Mr. Joseph, of Rotterdam, 48 *n.*, 424, 424 *n.*

Hill House, Chatham, 101, 101 *n.*

History a subject for a gentleman, 169

Hobler, 286

Holbein, Hans, 77 *n.*: his pictures of ships, 77, 193

Holder, Dr. William, 398, 398 *n.*

Holinshed, Raphael, chronicler, 109, 120, 158, 160, 161, 178, 184

Holland, Hollanders, 9, 27, 34, 36, 37, 47, 48, 86, 86 *n.*, 110, 110 *n.*, 112, 146, 224, 237, 318, 334, 343, 370, 392, 431, 433, 434, 439, 440, 441, 448; engine in, for towing 11; English shipwright in, 26, 246; navy of, 30; naval strength of, in 1688, 399; merchants and sea-commanders esteemed in, 94; regulations for seamen in, 111; seamen better encouraged in, 134; nurseries for navigation in, 420; notes on shipping from, 429; superior ships building in, 357; voyages by, 114; yacht of, 116; prizes in the wars with, 270; fishermen of, 444, 445, 445 *n.*; maps engraved in, 305; sea and land measures of, 391; Pepys's visit to, 371; ruin of, falsely predicted, 316. *See also* Dutch, States-General

HOLLAND

Holland, States of, 35, 50, 296; favour English seamen against the masters, 111
Holland, Henry, 267 *n.*
Holland, Captain Philip, a spy, 19, 19 *n.*, 20, 27, 342, 345
Hollond, John, his Discourses of the Navy, 137, 137 *n.*
Holmes, Sir John, 14
Holmes, Sir Robert, 13, 343, 343 *n.*
Holy Land, the, 91, 161, 288, 305
Holy War, sea-service in the, 90, 90 *n.*, 91
Honey, 184
Hood, Thomas, 50 *n.*
Hooke, Robert, Secretary of the Royal Society, 127, 134
Hope, the, 210
Hopton, Sir Arthur, Ambassador to Spain, 439
Horn, Count, in the English service, 32, 32 *n.*
Horses, exportation of, forbidden, 98, 192; passage of, to France, 184
Hoskins, —, a gunner, 214
Hoskins, Sir John, P.R.S., 126, 126 *n.*, 127
Hospitals, 162; Edward VI's, 124, 153, 413, 413 *n.*; Savoy, 412; Sir John Hawkyns's, 255, 414; Sutton's, 178, 179
Houblon, [Sir] James, merchant, 22, 22 *n.*, 23, 42, 79, 79 *n.*, 105, 105 *n.*, 113, 183, 183 *n.*, 196, 196 *n.*, 210, 214, 214 *n.*, 270, 297, 319, 331, 355, 355 *n.*, 340; knighted, 270 *n.*; his scheme for marine intelligence (1677), 28 *n.*
Houblon, Sir John, Governor of the Bank of England, 214, 214 *n.*, 331
Houblon, Mr. Wynne, 47, 47 *n.*, 292, 292 *n.*, 293

HUTCHINSON

Household, papers concerning the, 432
Hoveden, Roger, chronicler, 236, 288, 288 *n.*, 304
Howard of Effingham, Lord. *See* Nottingham, Earl of
Howard, Sir Edward, Lord High Admiral, 184, 184 *n.*, 185
Howard, Henry, Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 197, 197 *n.*
Howard, Sir Thomas, Lord High Admiral, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, 184, 184 *n.*, 185, 185 *n.*
Howard, Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, 184 *n.*, 185
Howell, James, 235, 235 *n.*
Howell, Dr. William, historian, 71
Howes, John, author, 413, 413 *n.*
Hubback, —, master-builder at Brest, 246
Hubert de Burgh, 178 *n.*
Hull, 139, 165, 165 *n.*; Trinity House at, 139, 140, 140 *n.*, 141, 165, 171, 418
Humber, the, 131 *n.*, 199 *n.*
Humbleyard Hundred, Norfolk, 328
Humfrey, James, a clerk in the Navy Office, 385; his naval collections (1568), 276, 276 *nn.*
Hundreds of Norfolk, 327
Hunsdon, Lord, 64, 64 *n.*
Hunter, Mr. Samuel, of the Trinity House, 289, 388
Hunting, 169; the Lord Mayor's hunt, 170
Huntingdon, Mayor of, his sturgeon, 237
Hutchinson, Mr. Richard, Treasurer of the Navy, 252, 252 *n.*

HUZZAH

Huzzah, the only word taken from the sea into common use, 166, 166 *n.*
Hydrography, 401; hydrographical draughts presented to Henry VIII, 96
Hythe, one of the Cinque Ports, 248 *n.*

ICELAND, fishing in, 445
Independents, 47
India, 105; excellence of vessels in, 207; Indian shipping, 105–6; canoes, 207
Indies, the, 31, 79, 133, 222, 229 *n.*, 369. *See also* East Indies, West Indies
Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, Regent of the Spanish Netherlands, 441, 441 *n.*
Ingulf, Abbot of Crowland, 236, 236 *n.*, 395, 395 *n.*
Inscriptions, 157
Instructions: for admirals, etc., 442; non-performance of, a bar to wages, 253, 253 *n.*
Instrument of Government (1653), 165 *n.*
Instruments presented to Christ's Hospital, 374
Intelligence, want of, 143, 309; imperfect in 1588, 232, 380. *See also* Houblon
Invalides, 171
Invasion, fears of, 160, 176, 182, 300, 304; guard against, 396; naval force in case of, 177; Speed's account of invasions, 201, 201 *n.*
Inventions, English backward in encouraging, 231, 379
Ipswich, buoying-out of the river at, 59
Ireland, 54 *n.*, 55, 81, 122, 288 *n.*, 299, 448; pharoses in, 97; to be furnished with six ships of war, 180; sea and land measures of, 391; ferriage in, 431, 439; unwholesomeness of Irish meat, 134
Ireton, Mr., 376 *n.*, 377
Isaacson, Henry, his chronology, 103, 103 *n.*
Island, advantages of being an, 300, 303, 321; danger or security of an, 327
Islands, kings of the, 330
Isle of Wight, 48 *n.*, 221, 283, 323, 323 *n.*, 344, 367, 433, 434 *n.*; taken by the French, 72; plundering of the, 342; survey of the, 135; *hoblers* in the, 286; allowance for archers in the, 323
Istria, 430, 434
Italy, Italian, 103, 219, 220, 354, 366, 392; Italian trade, 331 *n.*

JACK, 77. *See also* Flag
Jackson, John, Pepys's nephew, 394 *n.*, 413 *n.*, 425 *n.*, 426 *n.*, 447 *n.*
James I, 40, 61, 137, 179, 190 *n.*, 227, 375, 392, 392 *nn.*, 432, 440, 444, 445 *n.*; his voyage to Denmark (1589) 209; defines the limits of the King's Chambers, 46 *n.*; sets forth his good management of his revenue, 174
James, Duke of York ('his Royal Highness'), 9, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 89, 105, 107, 111, 118, 145, 149, 150, 159, 181, 188, 225, 243, 247, 257 *n.*, 290 *n.*, 376, 390, 390 *n.*, 404, 405, 416, 431, 431 *n.*, 439; seamanship of, 62, 84, 233, 382, 382 *n.*; Pepys in praise of, 338; a mathematical Admiral, 418; much of the strength of the navy due to,

JAMES

159; his opinion of English seamen as compared with French, 36–7; his defeat of the Dutch (1665), 242; Parliament's gift to, for his services at sea (1665), 320, 320 *n.*; his resignation of his offices (1673), 41; his voyage to Scotland (1682), 131 *n.*, 314, 314 *n.*; MSS. of, 101. *See also* James II

James II ('the King') 35 *n.*, 249, 274, 278, 280, 309, 399, 443; his interest in ships, 394; his general proclamation about offices, 273, 273 *n.*; admits the Crown's debt to Pepys, 272, 272 *n.*; visits Portsmouth (1686), 251; Pepys in defence of, 318, 326. *See also* James, Duke of York

James IV of Scotland, great ships built by, 302

James V of Scotland, 69; journal of his voyage, 132, 132 *n.*

James, Lieutenant, 110

Jansonius, 105 *n.*

Jaqueau, Captain, can translate French maritime books, 286

Jarrow Slake, proposed erection of a ballast-shore at, 199, 199 *n.*

Jenifer, Captain James, his journal (1672–73), 49, 49 *n.*, 51, 51 *n.*, 56

Jenkins, Sir Leoline, Judge of the Admiralty, 114, 114 *n.*, 407, 407 *n.*, 409, 409 *n.*, 431, 439

Jennens, Sir William, 35, 35 *n.*, 96, 96 *n.*

Jersey, 32, 32 *n.*, 344; survey of (1680), 135; pilots, 218; officers of, 437

Jessop, Mr., Secretary to the Commission of Public Accounts, 16, 16 *n.*

Jetsam, 82, 82 *n.*

Jews, 322

John (King), 66, 67, 161, 161 *n.*, 178, 282, 435; his claims to sea-dominion, 58, 91; his Ordinance at Hastings (1201), 58 *n.*, 77, 77 *n.*

Johnson, [Sir] Henry, of Blackwall, shipbuilder, 163, 163 *n.*, 241

Johnson, Samuel, 1 *n.*

Jordan, Sir Joseph, 70, 70 *n.*, 258, 258 *n.*

Josephus, 96

Journals, 279, 369, 403, 413, 438; no provision for collecting, 153; journals formerly well kept, 176; journals of voyages, 133

Jousts, 61

Judge Advocates, meanness of the, 167

Jury-masts, 16

Justices of the Peace formerly had charge of the coasts, 94

Jutland, Laws of, 109

KAYLL, —, 424

Kempthorne, Admiral Sir John, 35, 35 *n.*, 104, 104 *n.*

Kemys, Lawrence, 7, 7 *n.*

Kent, 11, 135, 190, 190 *n.*, 249; Kentish Flats, 345

Ketch, 116, 200 *n.*

Killigrew, Admiral Henry, in joint command of the fleet (1693), 290, 337 *n.*

Killigrew, Sir Robert, the courtier, 166 *n.*

Killigrew, Thomas, the dramatist, 166 *n.*; sent to sea for his viciousness, 166

King, Gregory, Lancaster Herald, 215

KING

KING

King, Sir John, Attorney-General to the Duke of York, his papers relating to the sea, 121
King, Dr. William, Bishop of Derry, 280, 280 *n.*
King's Bench, 388 *n.*
King's Chambers, 46, 46 *n.*; limits of, 392, 392 *n.*
King's Seas, 444
Kinsale, 111, 111 *n.*; Old Head of, 112, 112 *n.*
Knave-line, 162
Knight, Serjeant, 77
Knightley, Sir Robert, a London merchant, 117
Knighton, Henry, 161, 161 *n.*, 186
Kniveton, Mr., 197
Knox, John, 122 *n.*
Kynvin, Mr., 322, 322 *n.*

La Ciotat, 351, 351 *n.*
La Hogue, battle of, 216 *n.*, 217 *n.*, 286 *n.*, 317 *nn.*, 339 *n.*, 352, 390; great ships little damaged at, 289; resolutions in Parliament concerning, *ib.*
Lambarde, William, historian, 141, 157, 158 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 248, 248 *n.*, 392, 409
Lambeth, 397
Lampedusa (Lampadocia), Island of, 105, 105 *n.*
Lancashire, omitted in Domesday Book, 96
Lancaster, Duke of, 48. *See also* Gaunt
Lancaster, Sir James, 97 *n.*; portrait of, in Skinners' Hall, 97
Land-militia, project for, 104, 107 *n.*; land-soldiers, 54. *See also* Militia
Land-service, shipwrights to be exempted from, 436
Landguard Fort, 144, 144 *n.*

LEGGE

Lands, seisin of; objects used for, 395, 395 *n.*
Lane, Sir Richard, Lord Keeper, 297
Larrey, Mr., of Christ's Hospital, 192
Lashly the Scotchman, built the Folly, 149, 149 *n.*
Latin, 102, 148, 149, 156, 347, 349, 424
Laud, Archbishop, 76
Lauderdale, Duke of, 424 *n.*
Law, the, 62
Lawrence, Mr. Joseph, master-shipwright, 419
Laws Martial, 2, 53, 70, 70 *n.*
Lea, —, 218
Lea, Mr., the globemaker, 324, 324 *n.*, 325, 327, 419, 419 *n.*, 422
Lea, Mrs., a north-country lady, 311
Lead-sheathing, 176, 176 *n.*, 231, 379; ill consequences of, 115, 115 *n.*
Leadenhall, lecture on navigation at, 134, 159, 159 *n.*, 414; used for storing Spanish goods, 159 *n.*
Leadsman, 301
Leake, Captain Richard, Master-gunner of England, 140, 140 *n.*, 144, 150, 315, 315 *n.*
Leake, Mr. William, mathematical master at Christ's Hospital, 417, 417 *n.*
Leclerc, Jean, 309 *n.*
Lee, —, 435
Lee, Sir Thomas, Admiralty Commissioner, 259, 259 *n.*, 358, 358 *n.*
Legatt, Mr., consul at Genoa, 431, 431 *n.*, 439
Legge, Colonel George, afterwards Lord Dartmouth, 28, 33, 34, 131, 139, 140, 140 *n.*, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 149, 187, 187 *n.*, 188, 199, 203,

205, 225, 315, 338 *n.*, 372, 372 *n.*; his MSS., 137; his collection of navy estimates, 139; appointed Master of the Ordnance (1682), 131 *n.*; his voyage to Tangier (1683), 314, 314 *n.*, 399 *n.*; his want of practical seamanship, 273, 273 *n.*; his misfortune with the fleet (1688), 391
Leghorn (Livorne), 35 *n.*, 78 *n.*, 242; galley built at, 242 *n.*
Leicester, Robert Sidney, Earl of, Ambassador to France, 431, 431 *n.*, 438
Leigh, Mr. William, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, 436, 436 *n.*
Leith, taking of (1544), 109, 109 *n.*
Lemprière, C., 392 *n.*
Lennox, Duke of, Admiral of Scotland, 138 *n.*, 444 *n.*
Lent, flesh permitted on board ship in, 164; loose observation of, in Spain, 197
Leo, John, of Granada, 416, 416 *n.*, 421
Leonard, Monsieur, his collection of treaties, 326, 326 *n.*, 335
Leonard, Mr. William, Jurat of Dover, 437, 437 *n.*
Lepanto, battle of, 98, 98 *n.*, 223, 370, 370 *n.*
Leslie, Charles, the nonjuror, 280 *n.*
L'Estrange, Roger, 280 *n.*
Levant Seas, bounds of the, 432, 442
Lewis, —, 237, 365
Libel of English Policy, 228, 228 *n.*, 375
Library, Royal, at St. James's, 101 *n.*
Lieutenants, 360
Lighters, 125, 384
Lighthouses, lights, 5, 5 *n.*, 6, 30, 65, 69, 84, 103, 162, 189,

190 *n.*, 199, 199 *nn.*, 202, 222, 233, 343, 368, 370, 381; Act about lighthouses, 152, 152 *n.*; lighthouses in Ireland, 97, 97 *n.*; evils of private proprietorship of lights, 202; lights formerly burning but now extinguished or never lighted, 142
Linage, José de Veitia, 107 *n.*
Lincoln's Inn, 107, 107 *n.*
Lincolnshire, 222, 368
Lindsay, Alexander, pilot to James V of Scotland, 132 *n.*
Lindsey, Earl of, Lord High Admiral, 431 *n.*
Linen, 447
Linseed, prize of, 249
Lisbon, 56, 112
Literati, 281
Littleton, Sir Thomas, Treasurer of the Navy and afterwards Admiralty Commissioner, 257, 257 *n.*
Liturgy, Book of, 76
Liveries allowed to masters-attendant, 78, 78 *n.*, 234, 382
Lloyd (or Floyd), Sir Charles, engineer, 29, 29 *n.*
Lloyd (or Floyd), Sir Godfrey, engineer, 29, 29 *n.*
Lloyd, Dr. William, Bishop of St. Asaph, on prophecy, 316, 316 *n.*
Loadstone, 398, 398 *n.*, 415 *n.*, 422
Log, West Country seamen's substitute for, 159
London, 12, 173, 309 *n.*, 415, 430, 436: charters of, 122; trade of, 161, 317; a great emporium, 31; names of streets and lanes in, derived from shipping, 209; controversy of, with Winchester, 190; Charles I expects to borrow money from,

LONDON

176; is to set out ships, *ib.*; petition of London merchants about their losses at sea (1692), 216 *n.*, 270; ships at London Bridge, 209
London, Bishop of, 76
London, City of, 43, 53, 125, 134, 170, 277; omitted in Domesday Book, 96; City gates to be closed, 173; City Companies, 101, 102, 134, 153, 321, 321 *n.*
London, Fire of, 123, 206
London, Lord Mayor of, 164, 170, 173, 321, 432; Lord Mayor's Day, 125; ridiculous pageants of ships and trade upon, 103; Common Council, 122
London, Tower of. *See* Tower
Londonderry, affairs of London at, 122
Long Robe, order of the, 280, 326
Lord Chamberlain, 189
Lord Chancellor, 185, 185 *n.*, 408 *n.*, 409
Lord Keeper, 185 *n.*, 409, 442
Lord Mayor. *See* London
Lord Privy Seal, 121, 197
Lord Treasurer, 49, 57, 184 *n.*, 185, 264, 409, 411, 412
Lords, House of, 10, 217, 217 *n.*, 253; fire of 1834 at, 392 *n.*
Lords, the, 72
Lorrain, Paul, Pepys's copyist, 408 *n.*
Louis, King of France, his offering at the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, 141, 141 *n.*
Louis XI, treaty with, 392
Louis XIII, 67 *n.*
Louis XIV, 9, 39, 52, 249, 327 *n.*, 361 *n.*; fleets of, 306 *n.*; yachts for, 44 *n.*, 195 *n.*, 239 *n.*; ordinances of, 162, 162 *n.*, 240, 240 *n.*, 355, 371, 371 *n.* *See also* France, King of
Louvois, François-Michel le Tellier, Marquis de, Louis XIV's Minister of War, 33
Lowestoft, action off (1665), 346 *n.*
Lowther, Sir John, afterwards Viscount Lonsdale, 21, 21 *n.*, 80, 80 *n.*, 210 *n.*, 219
Lowther, Sir John, of Whitehaven, Admiralty Commissioner, 210, 210 *n.*, 319, 320
Lübeck, Senate of, 443
Lucan, 404
Lyme, burned by the French, 72
Lynn, 60 *n.*; survey of Lynn-water, 135

MARINE

Maas, river, 448
Mackenzie, Sir George, 137, 137 *n.*, 424 *n.*
Maddox, Mr. Robert, a clerk in the Navy Office, 356, 356 *n.*
Madeira, 289 *n.*
Madras, 105 *n.*
Magazines, 72, 359
Magellan Straits, 391
Magna Charta, 161, 161 *n.*, 237
Magnus VI of Norway, 297 *n.*
Mainwaring, Sir Henry, 446, 446 *n.*
Malta, Knights of, their great doings at sea, 83
Malynes, Gerard, 407 *n.*
Man, King of, grant to, for guard of the coasts, 297
Man, Mr., 289, 334, 390, 391
Maps. *See* Charts
Mare Gallicum, 301
Maria of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, 67
Marine intelligence, 28, 28 *n.*

MARINE

Marine, Secretary of the, in France, 167, 232, 362, 380
Marine Treaty, 440
Marisarcus, 186
Marque, letters of, 179, 179 *n.*, 438
Marseilles, 36, 351, 433, 435
Marshal, the, 287, 288, 288 *n.*
Marshalsea, the, 148
Marten, Sir Henry, Judge of the Admiralty, 430, 430 *n.*, 431, 435, 436, 438, 439, 444, 445
Marthusius (Martutius), King Edgar's 'Admiral,' 66, 106
Martin, Mr. Joseph, of Rood Lane, 426, 426 *n.*
Marvell, Andrew, 165 *n.*
Mary of Guise (Queen of Scots), 54, 54 *n.*
Mary of Orange (Queen), 217. *See also* Orange, Princess of
Mary Tudor (Queen), 54, 54 *n.*, 55 *n.*, 104, 107 *n.*, 108, 109 *n.*, 154, 186, 335, 398, 398 *n.*, 422
Masters, 360; certified according to the rate of the ship, 256; should not be named by the commanders, *ib.*
Masters-attendant, liveries allowed to, 78, 78 *n.*, 234, 234 *n.*, 382; their place in the King's procession, 178, 234, 382
Masts, placing of, 115; foreign supplies of, 276
Mathematical Foundation. *See* Christ's Hospital
Mathematical Professor at Cambridge, authors to be read by, 81, 81 *n.*
Mathematicians, catalogue of, 418, 418 *n.*, 421; sorry issue of their labour, 419
Mathematics, 102, 148, 159, 169; little found among shipwrights, 226, 373; application of, to navigation, 417, 418, 420

MERCHANT

Mathews, Sir John, a London merchant, 107, 107 *n.*
Maunsell, Andrew, bibliographer, 304, 304 *n.*, 422, 422 *n.*
Maximian (Emperor), 98, 98 *n.*, 285
May, Baptist, 123, 123 *n.*
May, Captain Richard, 103, 103 *n.*
Mayerne, Sir Theodore, physician, 445, 445 *n.*
Mazarin, Cardinal, 39, 52
Meadows, Sir Philip, 3, 3 *n.*, 227, 275, 373
Medals of ships, 68
Medina, Pedro de, 172 *n.*, 424, 424 *n.*
Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 204
Mediterranean, 240 *n.*, 340 *n.*, 393 *n.*; French fleet in the (1693), 317
Medium of the navy, 181*n.*, 266; extravagance of the, 181, 333, 334
Medway, 20, 20 *n.*; Dutch in the, 20, 145 *n.*, 343; removal of buoys, 59; Dutchmen buy oysters in the, 20; French in the, 20; insecurity of ships in the, 204; want of able pilots in the, 23
Meg-Mount, 139
Mellesh, —, a pilot, 63, 63 *n.*
Melville, Sir James, 202, 202 *n.*, 209
Men and guns, establishment of (1677), 57, 57 *n.*, 182, 182 *n.*
Mennes, Sir John, Comptroller of the Navy, 69, 258, 258 *n.*
Mercator, Gerardus, his projection, 159, 159 *n.*, 396 *n.*
Mercers' Company, the, 134
Merchant Companies, 153
Merchant service, 72, 163; diet, 25; bad victualling of, 135; pay, 25

MERCHANT

Merchant ships, 331; French seamen borne on, in time of peace, 360, 362
Merchants, 433; undone by piracy, 178; impositions on, 443; their complaints of Venetian duties, 433; of the navy and commerce, 331; of their losses at sea, 216 *n.*; they are held in esteem in Holland, 94; merchandise a pursuit not to be contemned, 168; abuse of commanders carrying merchants' goods, 196, 196 *n.*; English merchants employ strangers, 19; ships for the defence of, 67, 67 *n.*
Meres, Sir Thomas, Admiralty Commissioner, 122, 160, 160 *n.*, 181 *n.*, 252, 333
Micthis, island of, 284, 284 *n.*
Middelburg, Scottish church at, 48 *n.*
Middle Ground, the, 314, 314 *n.*
Middleton, Mr. Richard, his notes on shipping, 434
Midshipman, 138
Mildmay, Mr., 376, 376 *n.*
Militia, 110, 299, 304. *See also* Land-militia
Milton, near Sittingbourne, 402, 402 *n.*, 445, 445 *n.*
Mines at Newcastle, 446
Ministers, want of knowledge and experience in, 142–3; unskilfulness of, 263; their ignorance of the sea, 40; ill choice of ministers abroad, 152; no proper record of their instructions, *ib.*
Misselden, Edward, merchant and writer on economics, 444, 444 *n.*
Mizen-masts, 193
Models of ships, 246; of the Royal James, 186; of the Royal Charles, 222, 368; model presented to Christ's Hospital, 186, 374, 374 *n.*; draughts of ships and models, 239
Modius, Franciscus, 336 *n.*
Moles, 58; the mole of Caesarea, 96. *See also* Tangier
Molesworth, Robert, first Viscount, 389 *n.*
Molloy, Mr. Charles, 407, 407 *n.*
Monasteries, suppression of the, 124
Money, par of, 297; money raised for militia, 299
Monk, General George, 143, 143 *n.*; life of, 9; a landman made general-at-sea, 147; his contempt of the Dutch, 4, 4 *n.* *See also* Albemarle
Mons Meg, 138, 138 *n.*
Monson, Sir William, 44, 314, 315, 419, 419 *n.*, 420, 420 *n.*; on the security of Chatham, 205, 205 *n.*; on a navigation lecture, 416, 416 *n.*; his account of the naval actions of Queen Elizabeth, 128, 128 *n.*
Montagu. *See* Mountagu
Montaigne's *Essays*, 170, 170 *n.*
Monuments to Dutch sea-commanders, 275
Moon, 403; theory of the, 406
Moore, Sir Jonas, mathematician, 388 *n.*: his surveying work, 135, 135 *n.*
Moors, the, 287, 340
Moralis, 11
Moray, Sir Robert, P.R.S., 288, 289 *n.*
Morden, Robert, map and globe-maker, 422
More, Sir Thomas, 146, 416
Morisot, Claude Barthélemy, 67, 67 *n.*, 363
Morland, Sir Samuel, 387, 387 *n.*; his inventions, 231, 231 *n.*, 232, 380, 380 *n.*

MORLAND

MOROCCO

Morocco Ambassador, 180
Mortlake, 401, 401 *n.*
Moses, 205, 207
Motteux, Peter Anthony, the translator of Rabelais, 308 *n.*
Mould, Major, 397
Moulds in shipbuilding, 350, 351, 353 *n.*
Mount, —, a bookseller, 325
Mount H., 39
Mountagu, Mr. Edward, of Boughton, 387, 387 *n.*
Mountgomery's Book of the Navy, 106, 107 *n.*, 220, 220 *n.*, 366, 419
Moxon, Joseph, hydrographer, 113, 113 *n.*, 304, 304 *n.*
Munden, [Sir] Richard, his capture of St. Helena, 8, 8 *n.*; his journal, 51, 51 *n.*
Munster, 98
Musgrave, Sir Christopher, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, 138, 138 *n.*
Music, Gresham lectures on, 124, 124 *n.*
Music-room, trophies in the Duke of Buckingham's, 78
Mussel Bank, 20, 20 *n.*
Mustard, 167, 167 *n.*
Myngs, Sir Christopher, 390 *n.*

NAILS for the King's ships, tenure by supplying, 171, 184
Nalson, Dr. John, the historian, 174, 174 *n.*, 175
Narbrough, Sir John, 78 *n.*, 104, 105, 113, 113 *n.*, 115, 209, 222, 250, 251, 252, 314, 354 368, 390, 390 *n.*; his journal, 105 *n.*, 118, 118 *n.*, 391
Narrow Seas, the, 55, 158 *n.*, 430, 430 *n.*, 441; admiral of, 387, 404, 405; limits of, 404; ships fighting in, 438
Naturalisation, 295

NAVIGATION

Naval architecture, little room for improvement in, 217; limitation of the science of, 312
Naval business, neglect of, in Parliament, 143
Naval collections, 121; extracts, 389; books, 134, 224, 371
Naval commodities, reliance upon foreign supplies of, 276
Naval discipline, imperfection of laws for, 300
Naval force: ancient, 58; of our ancestors, 384; England, Holland, and France in 1688 to be compared, 399
Naval laws, 330
Naval philosophy, Sir William Petty's scheme of, 149, 149 *n.*
Naval relation, Dr. Wilkins's chapter on, 177, 177 *n.*
Naval trophies at Charles II's coronation, 58
Navigation, 11, 83, 86, 99, 117, 133, 134, 148, 149, 169, 172, 194, 198, 359, 398, 402, 403, 404, 414, 425, 426, 443; Cæsar's account of, 161; Pericles on the science of, 292; references to, in London charters, 122; improvements in, 193; science of, 315, 402, 420; its little improvement, 413; navigation improvable by art, 416; application of mathematics to, 417, 418, 420; benefit to the Crown by, 166; ignorance concerning, 85, 98, 390; not great until Edward VI, 195, 195 *n.*; no provision in our laws for, 396, 397; neglect of the study of, 179; not reckoned a noble employment, 168, 169; mistakes in, 314, 396, 420, 420 *n.*, 421; lights erected to the wrong

of, 199; the navigation of England undone, 313
Navigation, books on, 224, 232, 239, 370, 380, 403, 419, 421, 422; translated from the French, 415; French and Dutch books of, 124; overlooked at Gresham College, *ib.*
Navigation, lectures on, 41, 134, 159, 159 *n.*, 229, 230, 377–8, 414–25; nurseries for, 414–25; Spanish schools of, 4
Navigation Act (of 1651), 165, 165 *n.*; (of 1660), 22, 31, 87, 319
Navy, the, 248; repair of, 175; improvement of, 241; provident methods in, 291; reform of, 309; no set history of, 215; or settled office for, 232, 380; this word the Englishman's *Tetragrammaton*, 322; the navy not understood, 262; national ignorance concerning it, 280; its importance little understood by Parliament, 365; 'a lame arm to beg by,' 365; state of, 49, 50, 57; flourishing under Edward III, 410; condition under Queen Elizabeth, 107, 187, 199, 409, 409 *n.*; its deplorable state at the Restoration, 84; scandalous assertion of its bad state under Charles II and James II, 309, 326; its strength due to James, Duke of York, 159; paper on the ill state of (1693), 331; greatness of, in 1693, 297; Pepys's account of it in 1694, 395; atheists in, 52; corruptness in, 49; charges of mismanagement in, 181, 198, 331; business

of, managed with indifference, 393; debauchery in, 339; no degree of inexperience or unusefulness turns a man out of office in, 256; discipline in, 196, 388, 388 *n.*, 389; need of an appeal in, 261; expensefulness of, 40, 359; debts at the death of Queen Elizabeth, 191; James I's economies in, 174, 175; money for the use of, 80; supplies for, opposed, 253; expenses of, not understood by landmen, 191; need of a fund specially appropriated to the service of, 195; customs assigned to, 233, 381; charge of, in ordinary (1640–2), 254; extravagance in (1693), 266, 269; Colonel Legge's collection of navy estimates, 139; papers and books relating to, 121, 429–46; Discourses of, 137, 137 *n.*, 187; maritime antiquities relating to, 42; offices in, how filled, 421; strangers employed in, 81, 356, 360; fire in, 108; clergy for, 301; prayer for, omitted (1636), 173. *See also* Ships
Navy Royal of Henry VIII, 60, 101, 101 *n.*, 234, 382; Dr. Dee's proposal for a petty navy royal, 329
Navy, Principal Officers and Commissioners of the, (Navy Board), 17, 25, 43, 57, 115, 131, 143, 151, 176, 187, 188, 194, 195, 198, 211, 218, 224, 227, 231 *n.*, 241, 242, 242 *n.*, 252, 253, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 275, 297, 375, 384, 385, 389, 395; first establishment of, 153, 153 *n.*; their ignorance, 133; their

known slothfulness, 208; abuses by, 432; defects in their orders, 256; landmen made, 147; officers brought in for want of other ways of gratification, 257; arms of, 101; they visit the Forest of Dean (1671), 276, 276 *n.*
Navy Commission of 1584, 375 *n.*
Navy Commission of 1608, 375 *n.*
Navy Commission of 1618, 60, 60 *n.*, 271, 271 *n.*, 375 *n.*; Journal of the, 109, 109 *n.*; good effects of the, 278
Navy, Special Commission of 1686, 264 *n.*, 271, 273, 273 *n.*, 278; said not to have repaired the King's ships, 280 *n.*
Navy, Comptroller of the, 32
Navy, Surveyor of the, 359, 395, 395 *n.* *See also* Batten, Tippetts
Navy, Treasurer of the, 1, 57, 265, 278, 293; is no seaman, 25
Navy Office, in Seething Lane, 153, 423; purchase of the, 274, 274 *n.*; burned down (1673), 274, 274 *n.*; rebuilt (1682), 274, 274 *n.*; stationers' ware and candles for the, 2; Ascension dinner at, 389 *n.*
Neale, Mr. Thomas, Master of the Mint, 199, 297
Nectaridius, 285
Neerwinden, battle of (1693), 327 *n.*
Nennius, 301, 301 *n.*
Neptune François, 316, 319, 324, 325, 388
Nero, 317
Neville, Richard, Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral, 185, 185 *n.*
New Brunswick, 443 *n.*
New England, growth of French trade in, 51
Newcastle, 138 *n.*, 434, 442, 443; river of, 199; ballastage at, 429; colliers of, 311; mines at, 446; Trinity House at, 139, 199 *n.*; letter of thanks to Pepys from, 199, 199 *n.*
Newfoundland fishery, 49, 197
Newgate prison, 408 *n.*
Newmarket, 132, 132 *n.*; proceedings at, 32–5
Newton, [Sir] Isaac, 397 *n.*, 413 *n.*
Newton, Samuel, mathematical master at Christ's Hospital, 413, 413 *n.*
Nicetas Oryphas, 236
Nicholas, [Sir] Edward, Secretary to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 174, 437, 437 *n.*, 438, 438 *n.*, 442
Nichols, Captain, 210, 221, 367
Nicolson, William, Archdeacon of Carlisle, 424 *n.*
Nile, marks to judge of the rise and fall of the, 80
Noah's Ark, Pepys's views on, 205–7, 208; notes on, 153
Noblesse, 108; privilege of the, 93
Nonnius, Marcellus, grammarian, 290, 290 *n.*
Nore, buoy of the, 210
Norfolk, 284, 328; Hundreds of, 327
Normandy, Normans, 12, 99, 100, 395 *n.*; Norman Conquest due to English ignorance of archery, 310, 310 *n.*; lands distributed at the, 96–7
Norris, Sir Henry, afterwards Baron Norris of Ryecote,

NORRIS

Ambassador in France, 307, 307 *n.*
Norris, Richard, mariner, 124, 124 *n.*
Norris, Mr. Richard, candidate for the mathematical mastership in Christ's Hospital, 148 *n.*, 149
Nort, Oliver van, navigator, 63, 63 *n.*
North, Dudley, fourth Baron, 166, 166 *n.*, 167, 168, 169, 170
North, Sir Dudley, financier and economist, 168, 168 *n.*
North, Francis, Lord Keeper, afterwards Baron Guilford, 169, 169 *n.*
North-East Passage, 133 *n.*
Northern Seas, right of fishing in the, 441
Northumberland, Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of, Lord High Admiral, 444, 444 *n.*; his journals, 431, 431 *n.*, 438, 445 *n.*
Norway, Norwegians, 12, 91, 91 *n.*; office of steerman in, 402 *n.*
Norwich, 325, 328
Notitia Imperii, 285, 285 *n.*
Nott, Mr., the bookbinder, 104, 105, 105 *n.*
Nottingham, Earl of, Lord High Admiral, 10, 10 *n.*, 60, 60 *n.*, 88, 95, 262, 348, 348 *n.*, 349, 350, 392, 409 *n.*; his great service in 1588, 171
Nottingham, Earl of. *See* Finch
Noy, William, Attorney-General, 446, 446 *n.*

OAK, resists the worm better than beech, 250; foreign supplies of, 276. *See also* Timber

OSBORNE

Oar, the symbol of the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty, 136, 136 *n.*, 177, 313, 313 *n.*; said to be borne before the Mayor of Harwich, 178, 178 *n.*
Oatmeal, 312
Obelisks, transporting of, 123. *See also Guglios*
Observator, 280, 280 *n.*
Observatory at Greenwich, 388, 388 *n.*
Offices, sale of, 363
Ogbourne, Wilts, Priory of, 282
Ogilby, John, his account of the Coronation, 58, 58 *n.*, 157, 157 *nn.*, 248
Old Bailey, 214, 279
Oleron, Laws of, 62, 62 *n.*, 276 *n.*
Onslow, Sir Richard, Admiralty Commissioner, 269, 269 *n.*, 295, 295 *n.*
Opdam, Admiral, monument to, 2
Orange, Prince of, 35; flag for, 108. *See also* William III
Orange, Princess of, flag for, 108. *See also* Mary of Orange
Orange-vessels, 345
Ordinary, the, 254
Ordnance, Master of the, 131, 131 *n.*; his precedence, 131
Ordnance, Office of the, 432; estimates of, 110
Ordnance, Officers of the, 57
Orford, 60 *n.*
Orford, Earl of. *See* Russell
Orkneys, 448
Orwell, 60 *n.* *See also* Ipswich
Osborne, Peregrine, Earl of Danby, 286, 286 *n.*, 307
Osborne, Sir Thomas, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, 30, 30 *n.*, 77, 77 *n.*, 198, 257, 257 *n.*, 286 *n.*

Ostenders, 345, 434
Oughtred, William, mathematician, 413, 413 *n.*
Ovid, his description of a storm, 162, 162 *n.*
Oxford, 283, 413, 417
Oyer and Terminer, Commission of, 388 *n.*, 389, 399, 408
Oysters, 445; Dutchmen buy them in the Medway, 20

Pacata Hibernia, 112, 112 *n.*
Page, Mr., shipbuilder at Wivenhoe, 200, 200 *n.*
Pageants, 103
Paget, William, Lord, 8, 8 *n.*
Pagett, Mr. Edward, mathematical master at Christ's Hospital, 136 *n.*, 148, 148 *n.*, 182 *n.*, 417
Pall Mall, 286
Pancirolus, Guy, Italian lawyer, 157, 157 *n.*
Papachine, the rover, 104 *n.*
Paper Office, 109 *n.*, 429, 435
Papists, 35, 181, 230, 379; none in the navy, 52
Par of money, the, 297
Parfait Négociant, Le, 47, 222, 369
Paris, 11, 149, 431, 438
Paris, Matthew, 88, 236, 388
Parliament, 3, 13, 47, 49, 51, 53, 73, 80, 111, 171, 179 *n.*, 195, 199, 208, 216, 230, 233, 252, 262, 266, 267, 268, 270, 280, 283, 296, 298, 315, 318, 327, 334, 371, 379, 381, 384, 385, 389, 397, 400, 406, 422, 427, 448; constitution of, 99; no taxes without, 72; use for a permanent council of the navy in the intervals of, 276–7, 317;

representation of seaports in, 68, 229, 377; of the Cinque Ports in, 164, 299; of the navy in, 293; of seamen in, 136; proportions of members of, 164–5; petition to be excused sending members to, 165; Parliament and sea-dominion, 226, 373, 384, 384 *n.*; is ignorant of the sea, 34, 332, 357; and little understands the importance of the navy, 365; Pepys's report to (1675), 227, 227 *n.*, 374; disquiet in, upon the business of tickets, 148, 148 *n.*; is earnest for a war with France (1678), 365, 365 *n.*; yet refuses supplies, 365; is ignorant how to control money, 333; a particular of Parliament's injurious censuring of the management of the navy (1678–79), 181; Pepys's trouble in, 142–3; charges against him in, 377, 377 *n.*; futility of Parliamentary enquiries into the management of the navy, 277; enquiries unskilfully managed, 119; Parliament complains of want of accounts, 365; complaints of the navy in, 187–8, 331; neglect of the seamen by, 187–8; heat in, 198; secrecy in, 162; laws made in hurries in, 99; is jealous of the liberties of the subject, 267; Parliament-men that take shorthand notes, 122; projects in Parliament for remedying the want of seamen (1692), 268; excess of supplies for the navy granted by (1692), 269; resolutions in, concerning La Hogue, 289; vote in, concerning the

Admiralty (1693), 270; collection for seamen in, 232, 380; ordains posts round the coast, 305. *See also* Commons, Lords
Parliament, Acts of, 165
Parliament Chamber, 392
Parliament, Journals of, 234, 382; collection of orders of, under Queen Elizabeth, 132
Parliament, Long, 165; Rump, 165, 165 *n.*, 252, 270
Parliament Rolls, 306, 306 *n.*, 398, 419
Parliament tapestry, 232, 380
Parma, Duke of, 219, 366
Parry, Mr., 47
Parson, 303
Passage, clerks of the, 430, 437
Passes, 180, 180 *n.*, 181
Patent Rolls, 398
Patriot, 284
Pauw, Adrian, Grand Pensionary of Holland, 435
Pay, pays, 25, 86; badness of, 38, 268; unreasonable hardships in connexion with, 66; delays in, 132, 187, 268; difficulty of merchant seamen in obtaining, 25; grievous practice in the King's ships, *ib.*; pay of seamen under Edward III, 65; pay of soldiers and seamen to be compared, 64; non-performance of instructions a bar to, 253, 253 *n.*
Peake, Mr., M.P. for Sandwich, 262
Pearse, Mr. James (the younger), 160, 187, 187 *n.*
Pechora Bay, 42 *n.*
Peckius, Peter, 212, 212 *n.*
Peers, 336, 337
Pembroke, Thomas Herbert, Earl of, Admiralty Commissioner, 295, 295 *n.*, 331, 331 *n.*

Penington, [Sir] John, 430, 430 *n.*, 437, 438
Penn, William, gives Charles II a book relating to the navy, 3, 3 *n.*
Penn, Sir William, admiral, 60, 76, 112
Pepys, Jane, 89 *n.*
Pepys, Roger, of Impington, 89, 89 *n.*
Pepys, Samuel, his visit to Holland (1669), 371; his memorial on behalf of the creditors of the navy (1672), 71; prepares instructions for the office of Lord High Admiral (1673), 151, 151 *n.*; his membership of Parliament, 229, 377; provokes Parliament to look into the business of the navy, 51; Pepys improves occasions in Parliament, 187; proposes proclamation about commissions, 30; refuses a pass, 35; his report to the House of Commons on the state of the navy (1675), 43, 43 *n.*, 227, 227 *n.*, 374; presents to Parliament the states of foreign fleets (1675 and 1677), 371, 371 *n.*, 377, 377 *n.*; his establishment for chaplains (1677), 76, 76 *n.*; his pains over the victualling contract (1677), 57; and the establishment for men and guns (1677), 57, 182, 182 *n.*; opposes the Seamen's and Watermen's Bill (1677), 10, 10 *n.*; his action about the King's flag, 77, 78; the regulation of cabins in his time, 102; his speech in Parliament on the 30 new ships (1677), 47, 47 *n.*, 283, 283 *n.*, 358, 358 *n.*; his undertaking to set out 90

ships (1678), 358, 358 *n.*; his reply to Sir Harbottle Grimstone, 296; his public troubles, 273; is said to be of the French faction, 377, 377 *n.*; his trouble and envy in Parliament, 49, 142–3; is called by the envious name of 'admiral,' 198; refuses to take out a pardon, 197–8; is depended on to keep the Commission of 1679 right, 72; his persecution in the House of Commons (1679), 338; resigns office (1679), 359; charges against him (1679), 181 *n.*, 198, 198 *n.*; foretold the ill construction of Deane's voyage into France, 195; his imprisonment in the Tower (1679), 296; his papers appropriated by Scott, 296; conversations with Charles II and the Duke of York at Newmarket (1680), 32–5, 132 *n.*; his views on the ignorance of the Admiralty Commissioners, 259; they repudiate his rules, 237, 365; his visit to Scotland (1682), 137 *n.*; his account of the loss of the Gloucester, 150; sought to be present at the court-martial on it, 147; receives the freedom of Newcastle (1682), 138 *n.*; is thanked by the town, 199, 199 *n.*; is made free of the Trinity House of Hull, 139; his activity at the Trinity House in London, 198; presses them to take into their own hands the sounding of the coasts, 188; advises them about Collins's survey, 188-9; his services to Christ's Hospital, 374; his voyage to Tangier (1683), 314; attends the launching of the Neptune, (1683), 192, 201; his reasons for taking out a patent for his office (1684), 272, 272 *n.*; his opinion of the Special Commission of 1686, 278; is imprisoned in the Gatehouse (1690), 426 *n.*; his account of the navy in 1694, 395; his diploma from Oxford (1702), 394 *n.*

PEPYS, SAMUEL, foregoes his fees on commissions, 41; his exactness to have the King's business well carried on, 57; collects journals in the Navy Office, 153, 153 *n.*; his aim is for the good of futurity, 215; his application of study to the work of the navy, *ib.*; his exposure of abuses, 263, 263 *n.*; appears before the Commission of Public Accounts, 263, 263 *n.*; his known care in obliging captains to keep journals, 369; also Blue Coat boys, 370; his way of keeping the guardships, 160; his encouragement of pilots, 38; secures provision for decayed seamen, 233, 381; his scheme for a general Chest, 6; left the navy twice in good condition, 273; thinks no man fit to be Secretary of the Admiralty, 232, 381; his care for Tangier mole, 104; his adhesion to the Crown not founded on private advantage, 272; James II's testimony thereto, 272, 272 *n.*

PEPYS, SAMUEL, scheme for an exchange of knowledge, 282; doubts the ancients' knowledge of navigation, 402–4; thinks the English

self-lovers, 2; his opinion that land-education does not qualify for sea-employment, 260; thinks the life of a virtuous Officer of the Navy a continual war defensive, 264; his opinion on extravagance in the navy, 266, 269; criticises the relations between the Admiralty and the Cabinet, 320; desires a permanent Council for the Navy in the intervals of Parliament, 276; his view of the scandalous ignorance of Parliament, 356–9; his notes on Dr. Dee's *British Monarchy*, 329–30; criticises Sir William Petty, 312; and Captain St. Lo's book, 270; and John Selden, 275, 310–11, 322, 326, 336; in defence of Charles II, and James II, 318, 326, 394; in praise of the Duke of York, 338; and Sir William Coventry, *ib.*; his views on Noah's Ark, 205–7, 208; on the improvement of ships of war, 79; his connexion with improvements in ships, 242; his views on the increase in the size of ships, 425–6; on the best ship, 163; on the 30 new ships, 13, 208; on upright stems, 13; discourses with Sir William Petty about the double-bottom (1683), 210; his MSS. about shipbuilding, 93; his report on the measuring of ships, 211, 211 *n.*; his views on memoirs and histories, 69; proposes to write a Life of the Earl of Sandwich, 89; is to obtain papers from Evelyn, 95, 95 *n.*; his *Memoires of the Royal Navy* (1690), 271 *n.*,

298 *n.*, 313 *n.*, 326 *n.*, 333 *n.*; his list of English and French Admirals, 106, 106 *n.*; desires a translator of French maritime books, 286; his *Sea-Tracts*, 41, 220, 220 *n.*, 229, 366, 377, 420, 422; his secret paper, 162; his print (1553) of Dutch busses, 306, 306 *n.*; his picture of Lord Sandwich's 'last misfortune,' 386; his long sentences, 403 *n.*; his landlord Wheeler, 58

Pericles, on the science of navigation, 292

Perspective glasses, unknown to the ancients, 92

Perth, James Drummond, fourth Earl of, 132

Peterborough, Lady, 60, 60 *n.*, 61

Peters, Hugh, the regicide, 52

Petronius, 144

Pett, Christopher, master-shipwright at Woolwich and Deptford, 14 *n.*, 15, 46, 244, 244 *n.*

Pett, Peter, master-shipwright at Deptford under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, 212 *n.*

Pett, Peter, of Wapping, 212 *n.*, 241

Pett, Peter, of Ratcliffe, master-shipwright at Deptford, 14 *n.*, 15, 15 *n.*, 16, 18, 18 *n.*, 46 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 275, 275 *n.*, 351 *n.*

Pett, Peter, Commissioner of the Navy, 145 *n.*, 247, 247 *n.*, 276, 276 *n.*

Pett, Sir Peter, lawyer and author, 212–13, 212 *n.*, 254, 275, 275 *n.*, 424; his family master-builders in the navy, 212, 212 *n.*

Pett, Phineas, Commissioner of the Navy, 235 *n.*; Autobiography of, 1 *n.*, 13, 13 *n.*, 102, 102 *n.*, 126

PETT
Pett, Phineas, Commissioner Pett's grandson, 13 *n.*
Pett, Sir Phineas, Commissioner of the Navy, 13, 14, 14 *n.*, 15, 16, 18, 112, 113, 116, 128, 209 *n.*, 218 *n.*, 251, 251 *n.*; appointed Comptroller of the Stores (1680), 116 *n.*; his account of the earliest frigate, 18
Pett, family of, 163, 212, 212 *n.*
Petty, Sir William, 42, 142, 155, 195, 203, 288 *n.*; on shipbuilding, 127; on the figure of a ship, 204, 207; his double-bottomed vessel, 23, 23 *n.*, 42, 106, 106 *n.*, 200, 205, 210–11, 288 *n.*, 316, 316 *n.*; experiment on his pond, 204; on the ignorance of English shipbuilders, 200; his *Political Arithmetic*, 151, 151 *n.*, 212, 212 *n.*; mistakes in, 312; his scheme of naval philosophy, 149, 149 *n.*; on Selden, 275; on sea dominion and the flag, 156. *See also* Ships
Pharos, 97
Phellips, Mr. Augustine, merchant of London, case of, 436, 436 *n.*
Philip (King), 107 *n.*, 109, 109 *n.*, 110
Philip, an Indian, 4 *n.*
Philipot, John, Somerset Herald, 297, 297 *n.*, 393
Philipot, Sir John, Lord Mayor of London, 48, 48 *n.*
Philippes, Henry, 135, 135 *n.*, 139, 139 *n.*
Phillips, Thomas, military engineer, 338, 338 *n.*
Philosophical Transactions, 92, 92 *n.*
Pickory, the Prast Isle of, 42, 42 *n.*
Picts, 302

PLANTATIONS
Pictures, 196. *See also* Ships
Pierrepont, Mr. William, 400, 400 *n.*
Piles, Roger de, 392 *n.*
Pilotage, pilots, 21, 38, 44, 126, 126 *n.*, 131, 146, 150, 152, 218, 342–5, 430; importance of the pilot, 138; breeding of pilots, 4; want of able pilots, 23; court-martial on the pilot of the Gloucester, 131, 146, 147; miscarriage by ignorance of a pilot not capital, 146, 147; foreigners as pilots, 304; pilots of Venice, 221, 367, 434; from Italy, 219, 366; pilots paid for though you use none, 222, 368; pilotage in the Tyne, 434, 442, 443; pilot of the Black Deeps, 60, 60 *n.*
Pine, John, 392 *n.*
Pinnaces, 55 *n.*
Pipe, 447
Piracy, pirates, 12, 48, 75, 117, 154, 178, 179 *n.*, 186, 186 *n.*, 228, 262 *n.*, 330, 350, 375, 408 *n.*, 425, 433, 433 *n.*, 435, 438, 441, 442; piracy on our coasts, 100; measures against pirates under Richard II, 3; fees for commissions of piracy, 442; Turkish pirates, 440; Pirates' War, 92
Pisa, 242 *n.*
Pisan, Christine de, 336 *n.*
Pistols, 447
Pitching, 208
Pitt, Moses, 105, 105 *n.*
Placards, 441, 441 *n.*
Plague, the (1665), 65
Plank, rotten, 160; East Country plank, 207, 207 *n.*, 208, 384. *See also* Timber
Plantations, 417; clergy for the, 301

PLATE

Plate fleet, 113
Plats. *See* Charts
Pliny, 123, 284, 406
Plot, Dr. Robert, 281, 281 *n.*, 284, 285, 286, 287, 303, 308, 331, 340, 402
Plots, little history of the three, 220, 366
Plunket, Oliver, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, charge against, 81, 81 *n.*, 299
Plutarch, 192
Plymouth, 346, 366, 447; sunken rock near, 5, 59; burning of, 342, 342 *n.*
Poll tax, 381 *n.*
Polybius, 292
Polyglot Bible, its value, 123, 123 *n.*
Pompey, 385
Pope, the, 156, 316, 387; Popish, 76; Popish Plot, 209, 299
Popinière, Lancelot Voesin, Sieur de la, 406, 406 *n.*
Portland, Jerome Weston, second Earl of, Governor of the Isle of Wight, 437, 437 *n.*
Portman, Mr., cashier to the Victuallers of the Navy, 212
Ports, 58, 61, 67, 68; ancient, 141; list of seaports, 335; descriptions of, 101; Act for preserving the western ports, 324, 324 *n.*; our ports known to strangers, 342–6; foreign attacks on English ports, 178, 346; guarding of the, 59, 67; diversity and approachableness of, 74; plenty and quality of, 38; Parliamentary representation of, 165, 229, 377; burgesses representing, 53; a stranger seaman to represent a port, 68; French names for English ports, 385; port charges, 442; ports of Brittany, 88; Port of Caesarea, 96. *See also* Cinque Ports
Portsmouth, 51, 56, 102, 143, 174, 174 *n.*, 213, 218, 239 *n.*, 243, 243 *n.*, 344, 346, 418, 427, 432, 440; survey of, 135; weakness of, 225; burned by the French, 72; Edward VI at, 68; James II's visit to (1686), 251; tin brought to, 308; Captain of, 56 *n.*; the Governor's claim to a toll on foreign ships, 93
Portugal, Portuguese, 64, 340, 448; navy of, 56; project for a new treaty of commerce with (1672), 443; an excellent sailer built by the Portuguese, 355; they make men of quality commanders at sea, 64; Englishman in the Portuguese service, 56; Portuguese maps, 229, 378; words relating to the sea borrowed from the Portuguese, 359
Pory, John, 416 *n.*
Poshill, —, case of, 434
Pound-arrow, 164
Povey, Thomas, formerly Treasurer for Tangier, 93, 93 *n.*
Powder, stealing of, 430, 438
Praxis totius orbis, 155
Prayer for the sea, 76; of thanksgiving, 300, 303
Prayers, Book of, for the Fast (1636), 173
Precedence, Act of, 1, 1 *n.*, 45; precedence of the Lord High Admiral, 1, 1 *n.*
Predictions unfulfilled, 315–16
Preistman, Captain Henry, 249, 249 *n.*, 322
Pressing, 4, 66 *n.*, 71, 72, 74, 154; exemption from, 430,

PRESSING

436; irregularities and violences in, 268; those of the meaner sort refusing the King's loan to be pressed, 176; press-money, 436, 437, 437 *n.*
Prince, John, 104 *n.*
Prints, of Dutch commanders, 94; of busses, 306
Privateers, 18, 37, 342; built by Englishmen in France, 351; arrangements for convoy made with, 311, 335; story of a privateer threatening William III, 334; Turkish privateers, 15
Prizes, 2, 64, 84, 179, 179 *n.*, 249, 254, 426, 433, 435, 437; prize goods, 125; breaking up of prizes, 9; rules for prizes, 439, 439 *n.*; large number taken by the French, 270; prize office, 95, 270, 426; prize officers, 65
Proclamations, 46; of 1605, 31, 31 *n.*; of 1673, 30, 31 *n.*, 41; about the flag (1674), 77, 77 *n.*; relating to sea affairs, 119; James II's general proclamation about offices, 273, 273 *n.*
Prohibitions, 325
Protection, letters of, granted to churches, 282; protections against pressing, 66, 66 *n.*; against invasion, 296
Protestants, 54 *n.*
Proude, Richard, 39, 39 *n.*, 41
Provençals, 352
Proverbs relating to the sea, 62, 91, 279, 386; proverb reproaching sailors for ill-speaking, 192; old saying among the divines, 151; the proverb of Tenterden steeple, 145, 148

Prowd, Captain John, 370, 370 *n.*
Prynne, William, 282, 282 *n.*, 296, 297, 297 *n.*, 299, 299 *n.*
Public Accounts, Commissioners of, 51 *n.*, 152 *n.*, 263 *n.*; Charles II's Commission, 277 *n.*; William III's, 264 *n.*, 266, 269, 271, 291, 293, 333, 385, 400; Deane and Hewer's 'great report' to, 335
Pulton, Ferdinando, editor of statutes, 117, 117 *n.*
Pumps, 231, 231 *n.*, 249, 380
Purbeck, Isle of, 209
Purchas, Samuel, 64, 266, 266 *n.*, 279, 416 *n.*; his book sold as waste paper, 123, 123 *n.*
Puritans, 173
Pyrard, François, 64; his description of St. Helena, 8, 8 *n.*

Quality, men of, 64, 83
Queenborough, Inquisition of (1375), 61, 62 *n.*, 408, 408 *n.*
Queenhithe, 209

Rabesnières - Treillebois, Monsieur des, visits England (1671), 361, 361 *n.*
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 6–7, 74, 79, 88, 92, 95, 120, 176, 193, 194, 234, 310, 382; calumny against, 122; his theory of sea-fighting, 80, 421; his lack of nautical knowledge, 420, 420 *n.*
Ramsey, Alexander, a gunner, 214 *n.*
Ramsey, Lady, her charity at Christ's Hospital, 124
Ransoms for prisoners, 45
Ratcliffe, 222, 368
Raven, Samuel, a shipwright, in Holland, 26, 46, 246
Reading, 81

READING

Reading, Sir Robert, of Dublin, 97 *n.*; his pharoses, 97
Rear-Admiral of England, 131
Ré, Isle of, 11, 126, 211
Rebellion, the, 62, 81
Recorde, Dr. Robert, mathematician and physician, 398, 398 *n.*, 422
Recusants, forfeitures of, to be devoted to the navy, 175
Reeve, Dr. Edmund, 436, 436 *n.*, 437
Reformado, 124, 124 *n.*
Reformation, the, 321
Regino, Abbot of Prum, 287, 287 *n.*
Renau, D'Eliçagaray Bernard, naval architect, 390 *n.*
Renegado, 172
Restoration, the ('the King's coming-in'), 26, 32 *n.*, 34, 46, 74, 123, 214, 336, 351 *n.*, 397, 400; improvement in the art of shipbuilding since, 115
Revolution, the, 72, 296, 313, 319, 319 *n.*
Rhenish wine, 247, 247 *n.*
Rhodes, Rhodians, 406
Richard I, 91, 161, 237, 288, 305; in the Holy Land, 91; limitation of his claim to wrecks (1190), 82, 82 *n.*, 89
Richard II, 45, 48, 87, 160, 161, 178, 306, 346, 402; measures against pirates under, 3; French invasion under, 72
Richelieu, Cardinal, 32, 39, 235, 306, 383
Richmond Castle, 97
Ridley, Bishop, 124
Rigging, 359
Robert of Gloucester, 337
Roberts (or Robin), John, a shipwright, sent to Denmark, 26, 46, 223, 369

RUPERT

Robin Hood's Bay, 120, 120 *n.*, 163; 'Roberd's men,' 120, 120 *n.*
Robinson, Sir Robert, misdemeanours of, 196
Rochester, Bishop of, liable for guard of the coast, 282–3; Rochester Cathedral, 361 *n.*; ford at, 308
Rochester, Laurence Hyde, Earl of, 315, 315 *n.*, 386, 386 *n.*
Romans, the, 292, 302, 317; admirals under the, 285; Roman forts, 301, 302
Rome, 93
Romney one of the Cinque Ports, 248 *n.*
Rood Lane, 426 *n.*
Rooke, Admiral Sir George, 427 *n.*
Rotherhithe (Redrith), 288 *n.*, 436, 438
Rotterdam, 424, 424 *n.*
Rottingdean, 346, 346 *n.*
Rotz, John, 96
Rouen, 443
Round robin, 174, 174 *n.*
Row-barges, 363
Rowlands, Richard. *See* Verstegen
Royal Library at St. James's, 101 *n.*
Royal Society, 92, 92 *n.*, 134, 177 *n.*, 210 *n.*, 275 *n.*, 288 *n.*, 289 *n.*, 295 *n.*; enquires of the Governor of Batavia, 177. *See also* Gresham College
Royden, Captain Charles, his brutality to a seaman, 36, 36 *n.*
Rupert, Prince, 4 *n.*, 48, 77, 96, 96 *n.*, 111, 143 *n.*, 247, 258 *n.*, 343 *n.*, 345; Vice-Admiral of England, 404; his invention of great guns, 51, 51 *n.*, 132, 132 *n.*, 225, 372; his rashness in

adventuring his ship, 112; his galliot, 247 *n.*
Rushworth, John, historian, 173, 174, 174 *n.*, 175, 177
Russell, Admiral Edward, afterwards Earl of Orford, 2 *n.*, 113, 113 *n.*, 253, 265, 286, 286 *n.*, 289, 316, 325, 337 *n.*, 338, 390, 393 *n.*, 427, 427 *n.*; is accused for a Papist, 2; is attacked in the Lords, 217, 217 *n.*; but thanked by the Commons (1692), 216, 216 *n.*, 289; is laid aside (1693), 290
Russell, Sir William, afterwards Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, 304, 304 *n.*
Russell family, were any famous at sea? 376, 376 *n.*
Rutter, 8, 8 *n.*, 23, 23 *n.*, 39, 41, 50, 228, 228 *n.*, 229, 230, 375, 377, 401, 417, 418
Ruyter, Admiral de, 21, 26, 96 *n.*, 362; Life of, 1, 1 *n.*; monument to, 2
Rye, 344, 346, 446 *n.*; formerly a good port, 114; but lately spoiled, 143; burned by the French, 72
Ryley, Mr. William, Norroy King-of-Arms, 435, 435 *n.*
Ryves, Sir Thomas (Rivius), 101, 101 *n.*, 275, 275 *n.*

Sabuuille, Robert de, 161 *n.*
Sac and *soc*, 184, 184 *n.*
Sacheverell, Mr. William, 43, 43 *n.*, 284, 284 *n.*, 295
Safe-conducts, Act of Henry VI about, 94, 94 *n.*
Sail-cloth, foreign supplies of, 276
Sails, 359; theory of the structure and application of, 390; sails of Indian ships, 106

St. Albans, Henry Jermyn, Earl of, 376, 376 *n.*
St. Andrew's parish, 176
St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Abbot of, 145 *n.*
St. Elmo, nursery for navigation at, 415
St. George, the guardian saint of England, not related to the sea, 167
St. Helena, 8, 8 *n.*, 51 *n.*, 64, 177
St. James's, Royal Library at, 96, 101 *n.*
St. Katherine's-by-the-Tower. sea-devotion at, 423
St. Lo, Captain George, afterwards a Commissioner of the Navy, 269, 269 *n.*; Pepys's criticism of his book, 270
St. Malo, 17, 218, 317, 325, 344; a St. Malo's man, 224, 370; bombing attack on St. Malo (1693), 338, 338 *n.*
St. Michael de Paternoster Royal, church of, 423 *n.*
St. Michel, Balthazar, muster-master at Deal, 86, 86 *n.*
St. Paul's shipwreck, 101 *n.*, 321
St. Sepulchre's, 113
St. Thomas Becket, shrine of, 141
St. Thomas's Hospital, 412, 413, 413 *n.*
St. Valery's, fees paid for the passage at, 432, 433
Saints, tutelar, 167
Salisbury, Richard Neville, Earl of, appointed a guardian of the sea, 172, 172 *n.*
Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Earl of, a Secretary of State, 441
Salisbury, William Longsword, Earl of, 126 *n.*
Salisbury, William Montacute, Earl of, 126, 126 *n.*

SALLEE

Sallee, oversight in dealing with (1682), 180
Salt-works, 446
Salutes, 142, 432, 439, 442; to the English admiral, 431; stooping the flag, 438; striking of sail, 156, 435, 435 *n.*, 438, 439, 440; records of, 430. *See also* Flag
Sand-draught, 58; sands, 152, 273
Sand-plat, survey of the, 135
Sandford, Francis, Lancaster Herald, 215
Sandwich, 178 *n.*; is one of the Cinque Ports, 248 *n.*
Sandwich, Admiral Edward Mountagu, first Earl of, 22, 39, 39 *n.*, 40, 65, 65 *n.*, 135, 145, 346, 346 *n.*, 360, 386, 386 *n.*, 404, 405; his voyage to the Sound (1659), 89, 246, 387, 387 *n.*, was a mathematician, 418, 418 *n.*; foretold his own death, 387; his death (1672), 118, 118 *n.*; commendation of, 387; materials for his Life, 89
Sandwich, Lady, 89 *nn.*
Sandys, George, the poet, his travels, 80, 80 *n.*
Sanson, Nicholas, French geographer, 117, 117 *n.*; his maps, 120
Saturnius, Caius, 285
Saumarez, 437, 437 *n.*
Saunderson (Sanders, Saunders), Captain Ralph, 150, 150 *n.*, 344, 344 *n.*, 352, 356
Sausigny, Monsieur, Commissioner at Toulon, 355
Savary, James, 222 *n.*
Savile, Henry, the diplomatist, Admiralty Commissioner, 146, 257, 257 *n.*
Savoy, the, 176; Hospital, 412
Saxons, 178, 185, 302; seamanship of the, 305; the

SCYLLA

Saxon Shore, 285, 302, 326
Saxton, Christopher, mapmaker, 305, 305 *n.*, 392
Scallop-shells. *See* Sea-Knighthood
Scarborough, Dutch insolency at (1635), 430, 430 *n.*, 435
Scepper (Scipperus), 55, 55 *n.*
Schools, 261, 362
Schoonveldt, action off the (1673), 343 *n.*
Scilly, 140, 202 *n.*, 314, 404, 448; Scilly light, 22, 30, 69, 103, 202, 221, 367, 368; Scilly wrongly charted, 221, 367; trade in tin with, 71; Governor of, challenges anchorage and groundage, 221, 367
Scingetorix, 284
Scobell, John, 179
Scotch, Scots, 55, 61, 109, 137, 138, 302, 405, 444, 444 *n.* privileges of Scottish merchants in France, 432, 443
Scotland, 49, 276, 306, 432, 440, 445; Admiral of, 137, 138, 138 *n.*, 209, 444 *n.*; Admiralty of, 441; sea-laws of, 424, 424 *n.*; treaty with, 208, 208 *n.*; voyage round, 50, 50 *n.*, 69, 132, 132 *n.*; Duke of York's visit to (1682), 131 *n.*; accompanied by Pepys, 137 *n.*; sea and land measures of, 391
Scott, Colonel John, the adventurer, 237, 237 *n.*, 247; his map of England, 238; was the King's geographer, 237 *n.*, 238; appropriates Pepys's papers, 296
Scott, Robert, of Little Britain, the famous bookseller, 117, 117 *n.*
Scout, 145
Scripture concordance, 70
Scylla and Charybdis, 80

Sea, the: references to, in London charters, 122; customs of, 410; our strength at sea under Queen Elizabeth, 171, 171 *n.*; spirit towards the sea in her time, 215; the English weaker at sea now than heretofore, 108; victories at sea the result of accident, 298; motions in Parliament concerning neglect of the sea (1601), 262; the business of the sea hard to be comprehended, 313; the English imperfect judges of anything relating to the sea, 289; our dealings at sea not as great as we pretend, 192; the sea little understood, 406; the care of it little esteemed, 317; English experience at sea, 228, 375; and ignorance, 52; lawyers ignorant of the sea, 334; the King's interest in it, 442; safeguard of the seas, 73, 75, 179 *n.*; neglect of, 175; guardians of the sea appointed, 172, 172 *n.*; invasions by sea, 71, 73, 74; privileges to places maintaining force at sea, 109; few tenures by services relating to the sea, 52; instruments for passing grants of land have no relation to it, 299; tenure by holding up the King's head in his passage over the sea, 332; papers relating to the sea, 78; no book of instruction provides anything for the sea, 166; no provision for translating foreign books concerning the sea, 153; education for, 170; land-education does not qualify for, 260; parents refuse

children for the sea, 162; or the children desert, 163; learned men's aversion to the sea, 168; books of mythology and poetry relating to it, 88; sea-language unintelligible to a landman, 260; few names beginning or ending in *sea*, 89; criminals and malefactors sent to sea, 279, 417; rake-hells at, 308; the Great Captain of the Sea, 185

Sea-accounts, the surest information from, 279

Sea-administrations, deplorable ignorance of our, 219

Sea-affairs, English historians on, 81; book of ordinances concerning (1568), 132; our remissness in, 50; and ignorance, 229, 267, 377; they are foreign to the gentlemen of England, 267; proclamations relating to, 119

Sea-causes, 70

Sea-coal, tar from, 75

Sea-collections, 57

Sea-commanders, 186, 268; ignorance of, 247; vanity of, 271; youth and inexperience of, 339; disorders of, 400; they idle on shore during peace, 166; imputations upon, 119; general want of literature in, 102; untimely payment of, 132; are rendered more wanton by greater pay, 252; salaries for, 362; offices on shore for, 69; ill-used on the score of prizes, 64; prints of, 94; precedence of, 362; are held in esteem in Holland, 94; Englishmen not sought after as, 304; foreigners as, 161, 304; instructions to, not clear, 3, 253, 253 *n.*; com-

manders double in time of war, 360
Sea-corporations, arms of, 61
Sea-creditors, 71
Sea-devotion, at St. Katherine's-by-the-Tower, 422
Sea-dictionaries, 359
Sea-draught, 58
Sea-fights, 95; Sir Walter Raleigh's theory of, 80, 421
Sea-intelligence, want of, due to the ignorance of Secretaries of State, 309
Sea-Knighthood, proposal for, 52, 53; scallop-shells the badge of an Order of Sea-Knights, 90, 90 *n.*, 118
Sea-laws, 70; imperfection of, 214, 233, 381; sea-laws of France, 85; of Scotland, 424, 424 *n.*
Sea-marks, 5–6, 44, 58, 59, 61, 370, 403; Act concerning (1566), 84, 84 *n.*, 182; they are under the control of the Trinity House, 30, 30 *n.*; set up for strangers as well as natives, 346; destruction of, 213. *See also* Buoys, Lights
Sea-masters, illiterateness of, 50
Sea-matters, few in coats of arms, 63
Sea-officers, characters and duties of, 419, 419 *n.*; ignorance of, 247; their impatience and vanity, 260; little respect paid to their services, 230, 378
Sea-position of England, 293
Sea-rights, queries about, 437
Sea-seminaries, 425. *See also* Navigation
Sea-service, 70; hardships of, 83; sea-service and land-service compared, 83, 90, 90 *n.*, 128–31; sea-service

in the Holy War, 90, 90 *n.*; rewards for, 61; tenures by, 71; French terms in, 56; malicious proverb concerning, 62
Sea-sickness, 81, 81 *n.*, 248
Sea-Tracts, Pepys's collection of, 41. *See* Pepys
Sea-voyages, should be made a principal step towards advancement, 406
Sea-watches and wards, 393
Sea, Dominion of the, 2, 3, 3 *n.*, 44, 53, 55, 67, 92, 120 *n.*, 142, 156, 222, 228, 254, 292, 292 *n.*, 301, 302, 305, 306, 311, 318, 334, 369, 410, 440, 441; claim to, 296; its origin, 290; extent of, 330; the Danegeld a bad proof of, 267; King John's pretence to, 58, 91; no dominion until Henry VIII, 194, 194 *n.*, Queen Elizabeth said to have renounced it, 213, 275; not claimed by Parliament, 384, 384 *n.*; does not occur in ancient Acts, 331; presumptuous claims to, 58; due to ignorance, 226, 373; cost of, 226, 373; Mr. Secretary Windebank's letter concerning (1638), 438; Sir William Petty on, 156; our pretended seas, 82; the British Seas, 431, 431 *n.*
Seals, 137; seal of the Admiralty, 91, 151
Seaman, a mutinous, 214
Seamen, 2, 37; adventurousness of, 148; valour of, 37; English seamen great ramblers, 24; used to danger, 250; love their bellies, *ib.*; their diet, 25; its effect on courage, 25, 27, 27 *n.*; better fed than the Dutch or French, 37; the Dutch better clad

and soberer than the English, 86; characters of seamen, 59; their drudgery and constant toil, 83; their services not seen, 191; their dangers compared with landmen, 128–131, 138; their self-conceitedness and obstinacy, 413; their unruliness, 110; seamen not good speakers, 192; their health improved by cleanliness, 36; school for volunteers, 124; method and extent of a seaman's learning, 417; English not as great seamen as is pretended, 69; pay for, 24, 24 *n.*, 64; formerly better contented though with less wages, 134; ill usage of, 268; more encouraged in Holland than in England, 134; honour done to seamen, 94; their trade should be made honourable and profitable, 405; seamen under Edward III, 63, 63 *n.*; seamen formerly of the Cinque Ports only, 418; incorporation of seamen, 64; defectiveness of regulations for them, 110, 111; their representation in Parliament, 136; their discouragements, 268; projects for the encouragement of, 267; laws in favour of, 161, 166; seamen among State-favourites, 321; no pictures of persons of quality in the habit of, 196; few celebrated among historians, 266; few worthies among, 419, 421; Fuller's lists of, 281; want of seamen (1692), 268; they contribute to chaplains, 76, 76 *n.*; journals of, 279; wills of, 319; monuments to, 60; statutes concerning, 69;

first provision of charity for, 254; houses of charity for, 170; small provision for, in charities, 124, 192, 391; provision for, by Trinity House, 170, 233, 381, 381 *n.*; at Hull, 140; no provision for disabled, 164; or for old and maimed, 179; in Edward VI's design for hospitals, 153, 413; or in 1588, 262; Acts for the relief of, 85, 171, 171 *n.*; no provision for, in the Charterhouse, 159, 159 *n.*, 179; they are fain to beg, 232, 380; felony to beg, 147, 147 *n.*; reckoned among sturdy beggars, 164; as rogues, 300; styled *miserabiles personae* by the Civil Law, 196; styled *improbum genus hominum*, 212; may not play cards out of Christmas time, 164

Seamen, good discipline of the French, 38; are borne in French merchant-ships during peace, 360; small number of Dutch, 37; English seamen in French and Dutch service, 36

Search, right of, 439, 439 *n.*

Secretaries of State, 198, 308, 313, 313 *nn.*; their ignorance of the sea, 309, 310

Seething Lane. *See* Navy Office

Seignelay, Jean Baptiste Colbert (the younger), Marquis de; his visit to England (1671–2), 51, 361, 361*n.*

Seigneur of Saumarez, 437, 437 *n.*

Seignory of Venice, 434

Seisin of lands, objects used for the, 395, 395 *n.*

Selden, John, 9, 31, 53, 53 *n.*, 94, 285, 294, 305, 310, 384, 385, 398, 441; his *Mare*

Clausum preserved in the public records, 95, 95 *n.*, 322, 322 *n.*; criticism of, 326, 336; his strained arguments, 275
Seller, John, hydrographer, 11 *n.*, 12 *n.*, 21, 23, 42, 188, 224, 238, 239, 348, 370; his maps of the coasts, 28; his survey of counties, *ib.*; of the coast of Kent, 11; his new undertaking (1679), 223, 223 *n.*, 370; his books, 28 *n.*, 106; his maps and charts, 12, 19; they are but copies of the Dutch, 135, 345
Sergeant, Mr., 434
Seville, 415
Sewers, Commission of, 297
Seymour, [Sir] Edward, Speaker of the House of Commons, 257; his various appointments, 257 *n.*
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 71, 71 *n.*, 225, 225 *n.*, 347, 347 *n.*, 350, 372; takes out a pardon, 197
Shallops, 17
Sheathing, 359. *See also* Lead-sheathing
Sheen, 237 *n.*, 238
Sheerness, 160 *n.*; fortifications at, 29
Sheldon, Francis, shipwright, 46, 304 *n.*; master-shipwright in Sweden, 245, 245 *n.*, 246, 247, 353
Shepheard, John, a spy, 111, 111 *n.*
Sheppey, 402
Sherburne, Sir Edward, Clerk of the Ordnance, 418, 418 *n.*, 421, 422
Shere, [Sir] Henry, military engineer, 104, 104 *n.*, 153, 172, 203, 204, 206, 210, 224, 247, 354, 418, 418 *n.*; his notes on Noah's Ark, 153

Sheriffs of counties, formerly had charge of the coasts, 94
Shibboleth, 9
Shipbuilding, 76, 240; science of, 395; the world yet defective in, 126; improvement in the art of, 115, 193, 241–5; no great mystery in, 158; no secrets in, 245, 246, 358; each nation keeps to its own method of, 245; multitudes of considerations in, 201; differences in types of ships not accidental, 206; building varies with the uses of the ships, 351; the English pre-eminent in strength, beauty, and accommodation, rather than in sailing, 352; no certain rule concerning masts and yards, 16; ignorance of shipbuilders, 200; interest of Charles II and James II in shipbuilding, 115, 394; timber for, 21; Dutch book on, 127; Pepys's MSS. concerning, 93; Heemskirke's foolish proposition, 140, 203, 203 *n.*; Sir Christopher Wren's interest in shipbuilding, 127, 127 *n.*, 150; Sir William Petty on, 127; Dutch schools of, 183; great ships built by the Dutch on the advice of an Englishman, 46; Mr. Gibson's notes on the French knowledge of, 350–2; English shipbuilding inferior to the French, 426; Louis XIV's ordinances for, 240, 240 *n.*, 353; English builders in foreign service, 246, 247. *See also* Ships, Shipwrights
Ship-money, 73, 173, 177; papers about, 436, 436 *n.*; writs of, 173, 173 *n.*

Ships, 49, 75, 83, 87, 87 *n.*, 91, 234, 331, 382; ancient reports of the ships of England, 1; ancient names of ships, 290; ships royal, 410; ancient prices of a ship royal, 328–9; ship built by Hiero, 103; small size of Cæsar's ships, 86; the Saxon *cnear*, 178; Henry VIII's list of ships, 226, 383; Anthony Anthony's Roll of Ships (1546), 101, 193; pictures of ships at Whitehall, 231, 379; Holbein's pictures of, 77, 193; painters of ships, 365; tenure anciently to find nails for the King's ships, 171, 184; land given in exchange for a ship, 177; ridiculous pageants of ships, 103; a ship on wheels at a banquet, 137; a ship in coats of arms, 294; medals of ships, 68; a ship as a badge, 70; ships called 'floating castles,' 303; England's 'wooden walls,' 394; 'tall' ships, 120, 329; ships to guard the coasts, 175; to be set forth by maritime counties and ports, 176; to be found by Dover, 184; smallness of those of our first discoverers, 107; two captains allowed to a ship, 120; havens for, 90; power to press ships, 71, 74; essays on, 120; notes on, 429, 434; draughts of, 239, 351; leather case for draughts of, 115; Mr. Dummer's draughts of, 151; model of a ship sold for 55 guineas, 246; shewn at a public-house, 222, 368

Ships: what is the best ship? 163; what figure of a ship moves best through the water? 204; ships may be built wholly of straight timber, 193; their sailing may be affected by accidental changes, 226, 312, 373; a small thing mars or mends a ship's quality of sailing, 217; excellent sailing of the Harwich, 243, 243 *n.*; a ship that sailed 'like a haystack,' 113; good sailing affected by the position of the masts, 14, 16; it is not determined which end of a ship it is that comes about upon staying, 204; war-ships and merchants' no longer the same, 177; improvement in ships, 79; but little till of late years, 191; imperfections in build and equipment, 421; to be built to match the Dunkirkers, 175; no ships of English invention, 363; ships pestered with hen-coops, 26; enlarging of ships due to the invention of great guns, 425; the English over-valuers of their ships, 2; report on the decay of shipping, 121, 121 *n.*; ships stopped for want of timber, 385; ships rendered plentiful by the Special Commission of 1686, 271; disadvantages of this, 271–2; miscarriages of ships upon our coasts, 346; ships run aground, 145; sunk to block a channel, 145, 145 *n.*; ships destroyed by the French, 68; small vessels employed in foreign trade, 340; foreign ships, 68, 91; two Englishmen allowed to each foreign ship, 66; reward given for building a ship, 408, 409, 410,

411–12; hired ships, 119, 154; ships girdled, 13, 244; repair of, 218; steerages formerly schools, now eating-rooms, 251; the London wherry, 274; engine for towing ships, 231, 231 *n.*, 379; victualling-ships, 55 *n.*, 174 *n*; visiting ships, 429; ships fighting in our seas, 430; ships built since 1688, 331; Pepys's report on the measuring of ships (1665), 211. *See also* Frigates, Galley-frigates, Galleys, Shipbuilding, Shipwrights

Ships, information concerning Dutch, 111, 111 *n.*; their size limited by their ports, 37; ships built by the Dutch for France, 234, 240, 242, 383; ships building in France and Holland superior to the English, 357; good qualities of French ships, 352; English ships better sailers than French, 37; the English in sailing are equalled by the Dutch and French, and outdone by the Turks, 240; French ships, 361; ships built in France, 235, 383; French ships foundered at sea, 363; a ship on French coins, 295; ships from Guinea, 111; of Greenland, 207; of India, *ib.*; East India Company's, 79, 105, 105 *n.*, 111, 235, 383; Indian ships built in imitation of ours, 105–6; West Indiamen, 111; Spanish, 104 *n.*; for Ireland, 180; ships built by James IV of Scotland, 302

Ships, double-bottomed, 106, 231, 379; advantages of, 205; disclaimed by Charles II, 203. *See also* Petty

Ships, undertaking to set out (1678), 358, 358 *n.*

Ships, the 30 new (1677), 13, 13 *n.*, 21, 21 *n.*, 80, 80 *n.*, 93, 187, 187 *n.*, 192, 219; debate on, 283; Pepys's speech, 283 *n.*, 358 *n.*; Act for, 243; dimensions enlarged by Charles II, 13, 318, 318 *n.*; time set for the building of, 207–8, 208 *n.*; are the best ships in the world, 227, 374; infinite ill-husbandry in the building of, 195; pitching of, neglected, 208; rotten in less than five years, 205; their deplorable state, 207 *n.*; repairs of, 187

Ships, names of, [the ships marked with an asterisk are entered in Pepys's *Register of Ships*]

*Adventure (4th-rate), 340

Alexandria, 103

*Algier (5th-rate), 145, 145 *n.*

*Anne (old), (3rd-rate), 160 *n.*, 351 *n.*

*Anne (new), (3rd-rate), 160, 160 *n.*

*Assistance (4th-rate), 447

*Bonadventure (4th-rate), 249 *nn.*, 250

*Britannia (1st-rate), 218, 218 *n.*, 339

*Cambridge (3rd-rate), 241

*Captain (3rd-rate), 14

*Charles (1st-rate), 21, 143, 343, 343 *n.*, 353

*Charles, galley-frigate (4th-rate), 240 *n.*, 244

*Charlotte yacht, 150 *n.*

*Cleveland yacht, 239 *n.*

Conquérant, 363

*Constant Warwick (4th-rate), 15, 15 *n.*, 18, 18 *n.*, 200, 223, 223 *n.*, 351, 369

*Defiance (3rd-rate), 241

SHIPS

Ships—*continued*
*Defiance (3rd-rate), 339 *n.*
*Dover (4th-rate), 92 *n.*
Eastland Merchant, 104 *n.*
*Edgar (3rd-rate), 14, 200 *n.*
*Essex (3rd-rate), 351 *n.*, 353, 353 *n.*
Exchange, 409, 410, 411
Exchange, 246 *n.*
Experiment, 288, 288 *n.*, 419
*Fairfax (3rd-rate), 46, 46 *n.*, 105 *n.*, 351, 351 *n.*, 391 *n.*
Falcon, 67, 67 *n.*
Folly, 149, 149 *n.*
*Francis (6th-rate), 440
*French Ruby (3rd-rate), 240, 351
*Fubbs yacht, 116 *n.*, 128 *n.*, 160
*Gloucester (3rd-rate), 131 *n.*, 138, 146, 147, 149, 149 *n.*, 150, 206, 314 *n.*
*Grafton (3rd-rate), 214
*Greyhound (6th-rate), 239 *n.*
Guardland 235, 235 *n.*, 383
*Hampshire (4th-rate), 14, 14 *n.*
*Happy Return (4th-rate), 150
*Harwich (3rd-rate), 243, 243 *n.*
Hector, 351
*Henrietta yacht, 28, 28 *n.*, 152 *n.*
*Henry (2nd-rate), 160, 160 *n.*, 28, 244, 258 *n.*
*Isabella yacht, 116 *n.*, 128 *n.*
*James galley-frigate (4th-rate), 240 *n.*, 244, 244 *n.*
Jesus of Lübeck, 67
*Katherine yacht, 116, 150 *n.*
*Lennox (3rd-rate), 294 *n.*
*Leopard (4th-rate), 56, 56 *n.*
*Margaret galley (4th-rate), 242 *n.*
*Mary Rose (4th-rate), 214
*Mary yacht, 9, 241

SHIPS

Ships—*continued*
*Mary yacht, 135 *n.*, 150 *n.*
*Merlin yacht, 128 *n.*
*Milford (5th-rate), 200 *n.*
*Monmouth (3rd-rate), 246 *n.*
*Monmouth yacht, 128 *n.*
*Naseby (1st-rate), 13. *See also* Royal Charles
*Neptune (2nd-rate), 192, 193, 201
*Newcastle (4th-rate), 2 *n.*, 113 *n.*, 351 *n.*
*Nonsuch (4th-rate), 203, 203 *n.*
*Northumberland (3rd-rate), 200 *n.*
Old Warwick, 223, 223 *n.*, 351, 369
*Pearl (5th-rate), 16
Pearl, 435
Pelican, 436 *n.*
Phoenix, 447
*Portsmouth (4th-rate), 269 *n.*
*Portsmouth yacht, 344, 344 *n.*
Post, of Amsterdam, 430 *n.*
*Prince (1st-rate), 118, 118 *n.*, 390, 390 *n.*
Prince Henry, 430 *n.*
Prince Royal, 13, 126, 126 *n.*
*Prince Royal (1st-rate), 143, 143 *n.*, 346, 346 *n.*,
*Reserve (4th-rate), 113 *n.*
*Resolution (3rd-rate), 241
Rose, 114, 114 *n.*
*Royal Charles, (1st-rate), 214, 214 *n.*, 218, 218 *n.*
*Royal Escape, 144
*Royal Katherine (2nd-rate), 244, 244 *n.*
*Royal James (1st-rate), 186 *n.*
*Royal James (1st-rate) 386 *nn.*
*Royal Sovereign (1st-rate), 27, 112, 235, 235 *n.*, 252, 383. *See also* Sovereign
Royal William, 286 *n.*

Ships—*continued*
*Rupert (3rd-rate), 35 *n.*, 241
Rupert, 247, 247 *n.*
*St. Andrew (2nd-rate), 14, 14 *n.*
*St. David (4th-rate), 323
*St. Michael (1st-rate), 391 *n.*
*St. Patrick (4th-rate), 27, 27 *n.*, 353, 353 *n.*
Salamander, 109
*Sandwich (2nd-rate), 252
*Sapphire (4th-rate), 14, 14 *n.*
Soderina, 433, 442
Sovereign, 120, 120 *n.*
*Sovereign (1st-rate), 13, 235, 235 *n.* *See also* Royal Sovereign
Sovereign of the Seas (Spanish), 383
Spanish Eagle, 9, 9 *n.*
'Spiritu Sancto,' 355
Superbe, 243
*Tiger (4th-rate), 145 *n.*
*Triumph (2nd-rate), 340 *n.*
Unicorn, 109
*Victory (2nd-rate), 96 *n.*
Vineyard, 433
*Warspite (3rd-rate), 241
*Woolwich (4th-rate), 209, 209 *n.*
Shipwreck, 114, 164
Shipwrights, 115; poor payment of, 247; they raise no great estates, 163; little mathematics among, 226, 373; nothing secret in the business of shipwrightry, 240; shipwright's art printed, 351, 351 *n.*; shipwrights sent abroad, 46; English shipwrights in foreign service, 304; shipwrights from Italy, 219, 366; no provision in our laws for shipwrightry, 396. *See also* Swedes.
Shipwrights, Companies of, 10, 73, 93, 94, 94 *n.*, 153, 321, 397, 436, 436 *n.*, 438; the charter of 1605, 1, 1 *n.*; case of (1663), 320; by-law of, 225, 372, 372 *n.*; anciently consulted about the building of ships, 13; Shipwright's Hall, their erroneous method of measuring ships, 211
Shish, Mr. Jonas, master-shipwright at Deptford, 56 *n.*, 200, 200 *n.*, 241; built for Sir William Petty, 106
Shish, Mr. John, master-shipwright at Deptford, 192 *n.*, 200 *n.*, 251
Shish, Mr. Thomas, shipbuilder at Woolwich, 200 *n.*
Short allowance, 25, 135
Shorthand, 122
Shovell, Admiral Sir Clowdisley, 390, 390 *n.*; grant of arms to, 274, 274 *n.*; in joint command of the fleet (1693), 290, 337 *n.*
Sick and wounded, 155, 362; provision for, 2, 6
Sidney, Sir Philip, Hakluyt's letter to, 230, 230 *n.*, 415, 417
Sidon, capture of (1112), 91
Sieubladh, Eric, a Swede in the English service, 32, 32 *n.*
Sieubladh, George, 32, 32 *n.*
Skinners' Hall, 97, 97 *n.*
Sleidane, John, 167 *n.*
Slyngesbie, Sir Robert, Comptroller of the Navy, his proposal about a Sea-Knighthood, 53; his Discourse of the Navy, 137, 137 *n.*
Smith, Captain James, 351, 351 *n.*
Smith, Master Thomas, 159 *n.*
Smith, Sir Thomas, 416, 416 *n.*
Smyrna fleet, loss of the, 72 *n.*, 327 *n.*
Smyth, Sir Jeremy, Comptroller of Victualling, 69, 258, 258 *n.*

Snaca, 185, 185 *n.*
Soldiers, great deeds of, 169, 169 *n.*
Solebay. *See* Southwold
Solicitor-General, 399
Solinus, Caius Julius, a grammarian, 294, 294 *n.*
Somner, William, Anglo-Saxon scholar, 301, 301 *n.*, 303
Sorbière, Samuel de, 1 *n.*, 172
Sotherne, Mr. James, Clerk of the Acts, and afterwards Secretary of the Admiralty, 118, 118 *n.*, 258, 258 *n.*, 264, 322; is little qualified, 393; resigns (1694), 393, 393 *n.*
Sound, the, 89, 246 *n.*, 387, 387 *n.*
Soundings, 188, 213; sounding-lead not used by the ancients, 403
South Shields, 199 *n.*
Southampton, 344; Italians in, 220, 366; Venetian trade at, 313
Southwell, Mr. Edward, Clerk to the Council, 337, 337 *n.*
Southwell, Robert, of Kinsale, 111 *n.*
Southwell, Sir Robert, the diplomatist, 111, 111 *n.*, 156, 156 *n.*, 203, 204, 210, 292; communicates to the Royal Society Sir William Petty's lecture upon water, 275
Southwold Bay, Dutch fleet at, 145; action off (1672), 361 *n.*, 386 *n.*, 390 *n.*
Spades, 104
Spain, 196, 212, 320, 418, 448; fleet against (1626), 235; expectations of an invasion from, 176; cheapness of fish in, 197; sea and land measures of, 391; tribunal for English causes in, 443
Spain, King of, 383, 424; Attorney-General of, 446

Spaniards, 4, 9, 32, 52, 68, 185, 220, 231, 232, 245, 360, 366, 379, 380, 433, 435, 441, 448; treaty touching our intercourse with the, 442; looseness of their observation of Lent, 197; words relating to the sea borrowed from, 359
Spanish, 107, 172; coast, 327, 327 *n.*; Court, 429, 440; goods stowed in Leadenhall, 159 *n.*; ministers, 434; ports, 433, 434; service, 35; charts and maps, 95, 229, 378; schools of navigation, 4, 415 *n.*; standard, 432, 440; fleet, 432, 442; plate-fleet, 31; ships, 48 *n.*; men-of-war, 441; frigate, 430 *n.*; galliasses, 219, 220, 366; orange-vessels, 345; wreck (1622), 429; the Spanish build sharper than the English, 352
Spanish Ambassador, 429, 432, 433, 440
Spanish Armada ('88'), 74, 95, 108, 119, 171, 171 *n.*, 199, 226, 229, 230, 262, 347, 349, 365, 365 *n.*, 373, 376, 378, 379, 392; English supineness, 219–20, 365; English fleet unfurnished with powder, 220, 366; the Armada a surprise, 232, 380; its defeat imputed to ignorance of our coasts, 347; they not more ignorant than we, 376; our victory the result of an accident, 298; they ruined by imprudent orders, 231, 379; wanted no pilots, 342; their retreat round Scotland, 49; admiral of, 219, 366; maps of, 107; tapestry of, 94, 232, 380, 392, 392 *n.*

Spectacles, invention of, 162
Speed, John, the historian, 108, 141; his maps, 136, 136 *n.*, 201, 201 *n.*, 305, 305 *n.*
Spelman, Sir Henry, the historian, 59, 59 *n.*, 66, 106, 185, 323, 323 *n.*, 330, 340, 340 *n.*, 385; quotations from the *Concilia*, 341, 341 *n.*
Sperte, Sir Thomas, 125, 125 *n.*
Spithead, 243
Spragge, Sir Edward, 34, 34 *n.*, 340, 340 *n.*; visits the French dockyards, 361, 361 *n.*
Sprat, Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, 1 *n.*, 177 *n.*
Spurn Head, light on, 5, 139, 199, 199 *n.*, 202, 202 *n.*; Fellowship of the Spurn, 141
Squadron, 112, 243 *n.*; flag allowed to commanders of squadrons, 78
Stafford, Sir Thomas, 112 *n.*
Staines, 336, 336 *n.*
Star Chamber, 173
Start, the, 52
State: Officers of the, 268; letters of, belonging to Evelyn, 95
States-General of Holland, 436, 441, 444 *n.*, 447, 448. *See also* Dutch, Holland
Steerages, 251
Steerman, 98, 98 *n.*, 99, 184, 402 *n.*
Stewechius, Godeschalcus, 336, 336 *n.*
Stillingfleet, Edward, Dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester, 301, 301 *n.*
Stirling, 137, 137 *n.*
Stockholm, 447
Stoke Church, near Gosport, 213
Stone, Mr., 438
Stores, 291, 361; deficiency of, 187, 192; magazines of, 359; stores for particular ships not kept strictly apart, 260, 261; store-houses allotted to the French at Chatham, 361; store-ship, 447
Stores, Comptroller of the, 57, 57 *n.*, 116, 116 *n.*
Storm at sea, description of a, 144, 162, 162 *n.*; raised by witches, 209
Stow, John, the antiquary, 124, 125, 125 *n.*, 159, 161, 161 *n.*, 321, 321 *n.*, 414
Strabo, 308
Straits, the, 27, 35, 36, 37, 90, 104, 113, 113 *n.*, 317 *n.*, 448; admiral in the, 78, 78 *n.*; Straits trade, 91
Stream-tinners, 324 *n.*
Street, Mr., a candidate for the mathematical mastership at Christ's Hospital, 148
Strode, Colonel John, Governor of Dover Castle, 155, 249
Strood, 20
Stukeley, Thomas, adventurer, 52, 52 *n.*, 68
Sturdy beggars, 147 *n.*, 164
Sturgeon, 237
Suffolk, 143
Suffolk, Charles Brandon, Duke of, 203 *n.*
Sunderland, Earl of, a Secretary of State, 28, 319, 319 *n.*
Surat, English factory at, 105
Surgeons, Company of, 107
Surnames of naval etymology, 274
Sutton, Thomas, 178, 179; his foundation of the Charterhouse, 159, 159 *n.*; source of his fortune, 179, 179 *n.*; Sutton's Hospital, 178, 414
Swan, the, 345, 345 *n.*
Sweden, 32, 407
Sweden, King of, 246, 304
Swedes, Swedish, 9, 345; piracies of the, 100; Swedish

fleet, 32 *n.*; Swedes in the English service, 356; English commanders in the Swedish service, 32, 32 *n.*, 353; and shipwrights, 46, 246, 247, 353
Swin, the, 314 *n.*, 345 *n.*
Swords, 447

Tacitus, 161, 287, 317
Talbot, Sir John, of Lacock, 43
Tallies, 74
Tangier, 93 *n.*, 242, 247; the mole at, neglected, 104; Lord Dartmouth's voyage to (1683), 314, 314 *n.*, 338 *n.*, 399 *n.*; demolition of the fortifications of (1683), 140 *n.*; Pepys's Tangier Diary (1683), 107 *n.*; galley for Tangier, 354
Tapestry of the Armada, 94, 232, 380, 392, 392 *n.*
Tapp, John, writer on navigation, 139, 139 *n.*
Tar, extracted from sea-coal, 75
Tarpaulins, 119, 315, 426
Taxes, favour the northern and western counties, 405; county books for, 165
Taximagolus, 284
Taylor, Captain Silas, storekeeper at Harwich, 290, 290 *n.*
'Teague,' the fox, 390
Temple, Sir William, 23, 24, 24 *n.*, 27, 237, 237 *n.*, 315, 316 *n.*, 432, 440
Tenterden steeple, ridiculous proverb concerning, 145, 145 *n.*, 148
Tenures by sea service, 71
Terschelling, Island of, 343 *n.*
Tetragrammaton, 322, 322 *n.*
Texel, the, 436
Teynham, Lady, and the fishermen of Milton, 445, 445 *n.*

Thalassarcha, 290
Thames ('the River'), 17, 21, 59, 110, 112, 114, 135, 149, 209, 210, 231, 231 *n.*, 232, 274, 317, 335, 345, 348, 379, 380, 404; Act for the preservation of the (1536), 125, 125 *n.*; navigation of the, 59; tide of the, 183, 422; new channel in the, 5; want of able pilots in the, 23; pilotage in the, 146, 213, 343; ship runs aground in the, 145; ford over the, 308; fishing in the, 445; Dutch in the, 110, 210, 343; French in the, 72, 238; Conservatorship of the, 170
Thanksgiving, Prayer of, 300, 303; Archbishop Tillotson's sermon of, 298
Thoms, William John, antiquary, 125 *n.*
Thornton, Mr., the map-maker, 324, 324 *n.*, 391 *n.*, 422
Three Pigeons public-house at Ratcliffe, 222, 368
Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas, the diplomatist, 151
Thucydides, 292
Thynne, Mr., Librarian at St. James's, 100, 101 *n.*
Thysius, Antony, Professor of Poetry and Eloquence at Leyden, 56, 56 *n.*
Tickets for wages, 24, 24 *n.*, 152, 300, 300 *n.*; disquiet in Parliament upon the business of, 148, 148 *n.*; enquiry into (1667), 277 *n.*
Tides, 128, 152, 305, 342; theory of the, 406; Herne's hypothesis concerning the, 126; observations of the, *ib.*; ignorance of the, 422; marks for judging the time of the, 80, 305; tables of, 305, 305 *n.*, 403. *See also* Thames

TILBURY

Tilbury, fortifications at, 230 *n.*; wrongly placed, 205
Tillotson, Dr. John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 298, 298 *n.*
Timaeus of Sicily, Greek historian, 284, 284 *n.*
Timber, 21, 56, 140, 205, 234, 237, 281 *n.*, 382; scarcity of, 75 *n.*, 234, 382; ships stopped for want of, 385; want of, for repairs (1692), 218; fir supplies the want of oak, *ib.*; no suitable care of, 75, 215; suffered to stand about 100 years too long, 193; Act for the preservation of (1668), 75 *n.*, 170 *n.*, 182; saving of, 170, 170 *n.*; elaborate provision for, in France, 396; oak timber, 276; this resists the worm better than beech, 250; timber at Deptford, 192. *See also* Oak, Plank
Tin, trade in, 71; brought on horseback, 308
Tippetts, Sir John, Surveyor of the Navy, 15 *n.*, 43, 193, 193 *n.*, 223, 258, 258 *n.*, 264, 369, 369 *n.*
Titles of honour, 89
Tobacco, declared to be victual, 430, 435
Tobias, an Irishman, 34, 35
Tokens, 269, 269 *n.*
Tollet, Mr. George, a Commissioner of the Navy, 397, 397 *n.*, 405, 417
Tonnage and poundage, 87, 172 *n.*, 254; Acts for, 307, 307 *n.*, 384, 385
Torbay, 299
Torrington, Earl of. *See* Herbert
Touchet, Mr., 376, 376 *n.*
Toulon, 36, 244, 351, 355; an excellent port, 38; English men-of-war careened at, 350

TRINITY

Tour, Charles St. Etienne, Lord de la, 443, 443 *n.*
Tourville, Comte de, 317, 317 *n.*, 319, 327 *n.*
Tower, the, 34, 153, 153 *n.*, 203, 219, 296; vessels chase one another as high as the, 346; Tower records, 75, 279
Tower, Constable of the, 182; the Lieutenant's complaint against the Lord Mayor, 432
Towns, privileges of the, 141
Townsend, Mr., of the Wardrobe, 42
Trade, 70, 99, 100, 117, 300, 319; ancient laws concerning, 98; ignorance concerning, 98, 192; need of a uniform law in matters of, 156; learned men's aversion to, 168; trade to enemy ports, 440; foreign trade, 314, 340; trade of London, 161, 317; in Turkey, 443; papers relating to trade, 446; Council of, 50, 50 *n.*
Trade's Decrease, 424
Trajan's Pillar, 261
Travel, value of, 356 *n.*
Treasurer of the Navy. *See* Navy
Treasurer, Lord. *See* Lord Treasurer
Treasury, 268; Henry VIII's, 79; Lords of the, 187, 384; officers of the, 187
Treaties, collection of, 326, 335; Treaty Marine, 440
Tree-nails, 353; advantage of, over iron fastenings, 363
Trenchard, Sir John, a Secretary of State, 313, 313 *n.*
Trevor, Sir Sackvill, 436, 436 *n.*
Trinity College, Dublin, 166 *n.*
Trinity House, 5, 5 *n.*, 10, 22, 23, 30, 38, 41, 42, 51, 58, 59, 94, 103, 103 *n.*, 112, 139, 140, 149, 153, 183, 188, 189,

199 *nn.*, 202, 202 *n.*, 209, 213, 221, 233, 239, 279, 301, 320, 324, 343, 346, 367, 381, 381 *n.*, 388, 392 *n.*, 409, 409 *n.*, 414, 418, 423; charters to, 73, 73 *n.*; seal of, 137; surveys by, 135; apply for a new survey of the coasts, 221, 367; by-law of, 225; their lights and buoys, 65; houses of charity of, 170; to examine Christ's Hospital boys, 401, 401 *n.*; report on the decay of shipping (1602), 121, 121 *n.*; their regulations for seamen inferior to the Dutch, 111; Brethren of, exempt from land-service, 154; grown corrupt or useless, 69; their controversy with the Professors of Mathematics, 211

Trinity House, Master of the, 64 *n.*

Trinity House, Younger Brother of the, 188, 324

Trinity House of Hull, 139, 140, 141, 165, 171, 418; of Newcastle, 139, 199 *n.*, 434, 442, 443

Trinquelo's spies, 230, 378, 378 *n.*

Tristan, John, French historian, 98, 98 *n.*

Triumphal arches at the Coronation of Charles II, 58, 58 *n.*

Tromp, Admiral, his monument, 2, 94, 94 *n.*

Trophies of an Admiral, 78

Truman, Mr., Clerk of the Trinity House at Hull, 141

Trumbull, Dr., afterwards Sir William, 107, 107 *n.*, 399, 399 *n.*

Tunbridge Wells, a health resort, 322, 322 *n.*

Tunis, 433, 433 *n.*, 442

Turkey, trade in, 443; Turkey fleet, 307, 327, 332, 332 *n.*; losses of the Turkey Company, 332 *n.* *See also* Smyrna

Turks, 9, 204, 225, 240, 245, 372, 433 *n.*; we cannot outsail them, 200; Turks' vessel, 16, 17; Turk prize built of the fragments of other ships, 201; Turkish privateers, 15; pirates, 179 *n.*, 440

Turner, Mr. Serjeant John, 89, 89 *n.*

Turnor, Thomas, 71 *n.*

Turres, 302

Tuscany, Grand Duke of, 242, 242 *n.*, 354 *n.*

Tweed, fishing of the, 55

Twysden, Sir Roger, 248 *n.*

Tyne, pilotage in the, 430, 434, 442, 443

Tynemouth light, 202, 202 *n.*

Tyrius, 91, 91 *n.*

Tyrrell, —, a spy, 111

UNIVERSITY, the, 62

VALE, John a, a pilot, 126, 126 *n.*

Valentinian (Emperor), 285

Van de Velde, William (the elder), Dutch marine painter, 365, 365 *n.*, 407; (the younger), 365, 365 *n.*

Vane, Sir Henry (the elder), Secretary of State, 154, 154 *n.*

Varenius, Bernard, a Dutch physician, 114, 114 *n.*

Vauvre, Monsieur de, 246

Vegetius, Flavius Renatus, 336, 336 *n.*

Vendôme, Duke of, 32, 32 *n.*, 361 *n.*

Venice, 429, 430, 442; naval methods at, 109; methods of the pilots of, 221–2, 367–8; Venetian ship, 433, 442; galleys, 433; Venetians at

Southampton, 313; Venetian Ambassador, 154, 154 *n.*; Seignory of Venice, 434
Venus, 88
Versailles, 198 *n.*; yachts for, 9, 239 *n.*
Versoria, 98 *n.*, 103, 402, 402 *n.*
Verstegen (Richard Rowlands), 22, 22 *n.*
Vespucci, Amerigo, voyages of, 134, 134 *n.*
Vice-Admiral of England, 40, 131, 387; Vice-Admiralty of Hants, 438; Dutch vice-admiral, 434
Victualling, 320; contract for (1677), 57, 57 *n.*; importance of, to seamen, 250; victualling-ships, 55 *n.*, 174 *n.*; effects of bad payment of the victuallers, 88
Victualling, Comptroller of the, 57, 116, 116 *n.*
Victuals, better heretofore than now, 134; bad in the merchants' service, 135; only the East Indian Company victuals well, *ib.*; shortage of (1665), 65, 65 *n.*; victuals staved to clear ships for action, 332; seamen dislike herrings, 312; unwholesomeness of Irish meat, 134
Villa Franca, a port free for pirates, 154; Governor of, 432, 442
Villiers, Sir Edward, afterwards Earl of Jersey; his lighthouse at Tynemouth, 202, 202 *n.*
Vines, 110, 110 *n.*
Virginia convoy, 292 *n.*
Virtuosi, 282, 288
Visiting ships in Spanish ports, 434
Vlie, Dutch ships burnt in the (1666), 343, 343 *n.* *See also* Fly

Volusenus, 285
Vortigern, 190, 190 *n.*
Vossius, Gerardus Johannes, Dutch classical scholar, 284, 284 *n.*
Vossius, Isaac, Canon of Windsor, 418, 418 *n.*
Voyages, the longest, 7; the longest made by the smallest vessels, 305, 384; books of, 232, 380; most of them written by foreigners, 7; Sir John Narbrough's, 391, 391 *n.*
Vroom, Hendrick Cornelius; tapestries designed by, 392, 392 *n.*

WAFTAGE, Mr. Secretary Windebank's letter concerning (1635), 438
Wager, on Charles II's life (?), 377
Waghenaer, Lucas Janssen, the founder of nautical map-collections, 12 *n.*, 42, 49, 224, 305, 305 *n.*, 324, 370, 377, 418; Latin edition of, 40, 40 *n.*; Pepys's account of Ashley's translation of, 347–50; English translation engraved in Holland, 392
'Waggoners,' 12, 12 *n.*, 19, 136, 238, 239, 319, 342, 345
Wakefield, annals of, 178
Walbank, Mr., 113
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 208
Walsingham, Thomas, a monk of St. Albans, 236, 236 *n.*
Walton, Bryan, 123 *n.*
Wapping, 212, 233, 241, 381
Ward, John, the pirate, 172, 433, 433 *n.*, 442
Wardrobe, the Great, 78, 234, 382
Wards, Court of, 445
Warwick the Kingmaker, 185
Warwick, Robert Rich, Earl

of, Parliamentary Lord High Admiral, 15, 15 *n.*, 16, 18, 144, 144 *n.*, 223 *n.*; draughts of his ship, 220, 366; his leather case, 115
Watermen, 233, 381; Company of, 10, 107, 170; their charter, 11
Watts, Lieutenant James, 340, 340 *n.*
Wear and tear, 218, 218 *n.*, 266
Weever, John, the antiquary, 141, 427, 427 *n.*
Weirs, 164, 164 *n.*
Well-close, 120
Wellwood, Dr. James, physician, 309, 309 *n.*
Welsh, 284, 405; service of the Cinque Ports against the (1282), 158, 158 *n.*
Welwood, William, Professor of Mathematics and Law at St. Andrews, 118, 118 *n.*, 137, 138 *n.*
Wentworth, Captain Samuel, 246, 246 *n.*
Werden, Sir John, Secretary to the Duke of York, and afterwards a Commissioner of the Navy, 257, 257 *n.*
West Country, 110, 110 *n.*, 159; decay of the fishing trade in the, 197
West Indies, 4, 34 *n.*, 47, 70, 213; first discoveries in the, 229, 378; trade with the, 91; West Indian buccaneers, 148
Westminster, Abbey, 60; Henry VII's Chapel at, 114; Hall, 388 *n.*, 389; Coronation feast in, 157; church and school at Westminster, 391
Weymouth, 429, 433
Whale's new pump, 210
Whale-fishing, papers concerning, 443
Wheelbarrows, 104
Wheeler, Pepys's landlord, 58

Wherry, 163; peculiar figure of the London wherry, 274
Whetstone, Captain, Cromwell's nephew, 387, 387 *n.*
Whetstone, Captain, slain by a Frenchman, 435
White Horse, the, against St. Sepulchre's, 113
White staves as marks of office, 136
Whitehall, 147, 231, 379
Whitesand Bay (near Brest), 141, 141 *n.*, 184 *n.*
Whittington, Richard, Lord Mayor of London, his College, 423, 423 *n.*
Wicker boats, 86
Widows, provision for, 2, 6, 362
Wiggins, —, carpenter of the Sandwich, 252
Wilder, De, Secretary of the Admiralty in Holland, 111
Wilkins, Dr. John, Bishop of Chester, 177, 177 *n.*
William I (the Conqueror), 12, 96, 100, 177, 299, 337; portraiture of, with a full beard, 97
William III, 217 *n.*, 253, 259, 260, 327, 448, 448 *n.*; his genius bent to land-action only, 394; story of his being threatened by a privateer, 334. *See also* Orange, Prince of
William, son of Henry I, drowned on his voyage from France (1120), 158
William II, Prince of Orange, 448, 448 *n.*
William de Wrotham, Archdeacon of Taunton, 233 *n.*, 329 (?)
Williams, John, Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of York, 260, 260 *n.*

WILLIAMS

Williams, Mr., a candidate for the mathematical mastership at Christ's Hospital, 149
Williamson, Sir Joseph, a Secretary of State, 78, 109, 109 *n.*, 208, 224, 227, 230, 244, 335, 370, 371, 371 *n.*, 375, 379, 440
Wills of seamen, 319
Willshaw, Captain Francis, 64, 64 *n.*, 244 *n.*
Willshaw, Captain Thomas, 64 *n.*, 244, 244 *n.*, 354
Wiltshire, 282, 283
Winchelsea, besieged by the French, 72, 346; lately spoiled as a port, 143
Winchester, dispute of, with London at the Coronation, 190
Winchester, Bishop of, 213
Windebank, Sir Francis, a Secretary of State, 438, 438 *n.*, 439, 441
Winds, Pliny's account of the, 406; card of the, 403
Windsor, 3
Wine, 437; importation of wines and woads, 87, 87 *n.*
Wings of a ship, 332, 332 *n.*
Winter, Mr. Edward, rewarded for building a ship (1592), 409, 410; copy of the grant, 411–12
Winterton light, 189, 190 *n.*
Witches raise a storm at sea, 209
Witsen, Nicholas, of Amsterdam, 127, 127 *n.*, 183, 183 *n.*, 363, 370
Witt, Cornelius de, inscription to, 180
Witt, John de, 20, 24, 24 *nn.*, 108
Wivenhoe, 200
Wolley, Richard, 399 *n.*
Wolsey, Cardinal, 86
Wolstenholme, Sir John, his house purchased for the Navy Office, 274 *n.*
Woman, strange case of a, 309
Wood, Anthony, 275, 275 *n.*
Wood, Captain John, 133 *n.*; his polar map, 133
Wood, Dr. Robert, mathematical master at Christ's Hospital, 136 *n.*, 148 *n.*, 149 *n.*, 150
Wooden guns, 203; 'wooden walls,' 394, 394 *n.*
Wool-staple, the, 209
Woolwich, 46, 126 *n.*, 145 *n.*, 209 *n.*, 218, 244 *n.*, 421; deficiency of stores at, 192; gunnery at, 315
Worcester Cathedral, 290; charter to (964), 302 *n.*
Worm, the, 102, 130, 250
Wotton, Sir Henry, the poet, Ambassador at Venice, 434, 434 *n.*, 442
Wrecks, 84, 202, 311; the King's claim to, 82, 82 *n.*, 90; wrecks at Folkestone, 429, 433; in the Thames, 145; on the coasts, 146; wreck of money and silver, 437; Spanish wreck, 429
Wren, Sir Christopher, 1 *n.*; his interest in shipbuilding, 127, 127 *n.*, 150; designed Chelsea Hospital, 171 *n.*
Wright, Edward, mathematician and hydrographer, 396, 396 *n.*, 413, 421, 423
Wright, Mr. Edward, of Trinity House (?), 414, 414 *n.*
Wright, Sir Harry, 89 *n.*
Wright, Lady, 89, 89 *n.*
Writing, 102
Wyborne, Captain John, 35, 35 *n.*, 36, 150, 354, 354 *n.*
Wyche, Sir Peter, Ambassador at Constantinople, 435, 435 *n.*
Wynter, Sir William, 85 *n.*

YACHTS

YACHTS, 9, 12, 28, 126, 128, 150, 150 *n.*, 249, 334, 344; origin of, 241; first learned from the Dutch, 116; Charles II's design of a, 116, 116 *n.*; a two-masted yacht, 220, 366; their excessive number and little service, 250; ignorance of their officers, 251; yachts for Louis XIV, 44 *n.*, 195 *n.*, 239 *n.*

Yarmouth, 60 *n.*, 135; families of admirals at, 184; sends herring-pies to the King, 325, 328

York, Duke of. *See* James

Yorkshire, 120, 120 *n.*

Young, Captain (the elder), 26

ZEBULUN, a ship the badge of the tribe of, 70, 70 *n.*

Zouche, Baron, of Harringworth, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 430, 430 *n.*, 437

Zowe, French fishing upon the, 446, 446 *n.*

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